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THE » TEMPLE
» BIBLE »

*The frontispiece is reproduced from a photograph by ALINARI
of TADDEO GADDI's picture in the Church of S. Croce at
Florence, 'The Meeting of S. Joseph and S. Anna.'*



NEW
TESTAMENT
APOCRYPHAL
WRITINGS



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Introduction

The Canonical Gospels. As far back as we can trace them the four Gospels known as Canonical hold a place of honour and authority peculiar to themselves. Irenæus of Gaul (*circa* A.D. 175) recognises four, and only four, Gospels as the 'pillars' that uphold the Church (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 8). Origen, in the beginning of the next century (A.D. 220), speaks of them as 'the four Gospels which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God spread under heaven' (Euseb., *H. E.* vi. 25). Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, narrates that the 'Memoirs of the Apostles,' which are called Gospels, were read every Sunday in the assemblies of the Christians (*Apol.* 66, 67). That these Gospels were those we now possess we can tell, not only from Justin's description of them, and allusions to their contents (*cp.* Sanday's *Gospels in Second Century*, chap. iv.), but from the harmony made of them by his disciple Tatian in his *Diatessaron* (now recovered in Arabic translations). Our four Gospels, and these only, stand at the head of the ancient Syriac (*Peshitta*), the Latin and the Egyptian versions (*cp.* Westcott and Hort), and of the old list known as the Canon of Muratori (*circa* A.D. 180). Within the Church, in short, our four Gospels, attributed by second-century writers to their present authors, had never any rivals.

Apocryphal Writings. It stands very differently, as respects

origin, character and reception, with the Gospels, Acts and Apocalypses known as 'Apocryphal.' These began to be produced (so far as known) in the second century, mostly in Ebionitic and Gnostic circles, and, with few exceptions, were repudiated and condemned by the Church. Only later, and in modified and expurgated forms, did their stories pass into the general Catholic tradition. The second century seems to have been a perfect hot-bed for the production of this class of writings. The heretical *Gospel of the Egyptians* is already quoted in 2 Clement (*circa* A.D. 140). Irenæus speaks of the sect of the Marcosians as adducing 'an unspeakable number of apocryphal and spurious writings, which they themselves had forged, to bewilder the minds of the foolish,' and instances the story, found in the *Gospel of Thomas*, of Jesus confounding the schoolmaster who sought to teach Him His letters (*Adv. Haer.* i. 20). Later tradition attributed the composition of many of the apocryphal writings (*Pseudo-Matthew*, Acts of Apostles) to a mythical Leucius, a disciple of the Apostles (*cp.* art. 'Leucius,' *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*). Eusebius gives a list of spurious and disputed books: 'That we may have it in our power to know both these books (the canonical), and those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the Apostles, such, viz., as compose the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, and of Matthew, and certain others beside these, or such as contain the Acts of Andrew and John, and of the other Apostles, of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works; and, indeed, the character of the style itself is very different from that of the Apostles, and the sentiments, and the purport of those things that are advanced in them, deviating as far as possible from

sound orthodoxy, evidently proves they are the fictions of heretical men; whence they are not only to be ranked among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious' (*H. E.* iii. 25). Only a small part of this extensive literature remains to us, and in no case in its original form, but solely in later, and often much-altered recensions.

Authorities. The apocryphal literature is a study by itself, with the intricate details of which only specialists are competent to deal. Great attention has been bestowed on the collecting, editing and collating of such codices of Gospels, Acts, and other writings as were formerly known, or have more recently been discovered. The most important of the older collections was that of Fabricius (*Codex Apocryphus*, 1719). The collections and prolegomena of Thilo (1832) and Tischendorf (*Acts*, 1851; *Gospels*, 1853; *Apocalypses*, 1856) are of special value; much, however, has been done since their time. The articles by Lipsius in the *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* on 'Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal)' and 'Gospels (Apocryphal)' are, like the author's learned German work (2 vols., 1883) on the former subject, masterly in their discussions of the relations of the documents. Valuable light was thrown on the Syriac versions of the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *Transitus Mariæ* (Passing of Mary), by the texts and fragments edited and translated by Dr. W. Wright in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (January and April 1865), and his *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (1865), and *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (1871). In 1902 Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis edited, with translations and other illustrative matter, new Syriac texts of the *Protevangelium* and *Transitus Mariæ*, obtained from

a palimpsest she was fortunate enough to purchase at Suez in July 1895 (*Studia Sinaitica*, No. XI. 1902). An interesting fragment of the lost *Gospel of Peter* (second century) was discovered, with other MSS., at Akhmim, in Upper Egypt, in 1886, and was published in 1892 (*see below*). A translation of the Apocryphal Gospels was published in 1874 by Mr. B. H. Cowper, on the basis of Tischendorf's edition; and Vol. XVI. of Messrs. T. & T. Clark's *Ante-Nicene Library* is devoted to translations by Mr. A. Walker of 'Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations.' An 'Additional Volume' of the *Library* (1897) contains translations of works more recently discovered. Lectures XI. and XIX. of Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament*, on 'Apocryphal and Heretical Gospels' and 'Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles,' may profitably be consulted. Hone's catch-penny *Apocryphal New Testament* (1820) is critically worthless.

Character of Apocryphal Gospels. Of the purely heretical Gospels most have perished (for an account of some of the Gnostic ones, *see* Baring-Gould's *Lost and Hostile Gospels* (1874), and Lipsius, as above). But apart from doctrinal reasons, sufficient motive always existed in persons of lax tendency to pander to the principle of curiosity and love of the marvellous in human nature by inventions of narratives on subjects on which the genuine Gospels were silent. An existing narrative, or traditions of sayings and doings of Jesus, might be, and frequently were, manipulated, recast, or embellished; but the grand opportunity came when the Gospels said nothing at all. Here was a space which imagination could fill up at pleasure. The stories might be puerile, demoralising, ridiculous to the last degree, but

if they were only circumstantial and marvellous enough, and were backed up by names of Apostles, or others of repute, the narrator could always rely on finding readers greedy to receive them. This is precisely what happened with the Apocryphal Gospels. There are differences in degree of puerility and extravagance; but Bishop Ellicott did not exaggerate when he said of the spurious Gospels as a whole (and the same remarks apply as a rule to the Acts): 'Their real demerits, their mendacities, their absurdities, their coarseness, the barbarities of their style and the inconsequence of their narratives, have never been excused or condoned. It would be hard to find any competent writer, in any age of the Church, who has been beguiled into saying anything civil or commendatory' ('On the Apocryphal Gospels,' *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, p. 153). It is to be remembered, on the other hand, that the stories in these Gospels did ultimately very deeply influence Catholic tradition (see below).

Cycles of Narration. The stories in the Apocryphal Gospels will be found on examination to resolve themselves mainly into three groups, or to form three chief cycles, corresponding to those parts of the evangelical narrative where curiosity is most excited, and receives least satisfaction. These cycles relate (1) to the previous history of the parents of Jesus, especially of Mary, and to the Nativity; (2) to the boyhood of Jesus from His childhood to His twelfth year; and (3) to the passion of Jesus, and the interval between His death and Resurrection. These groups are represented in the present volume respectively by the *Protevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of Thomas* (with part of the *Gospel of Pseudo-*

Matthew), and the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, with the fragment of the *Gospel of Peter*. The *Falling Asleep of Mary* is added as exemplifying the later development of the Mary-legend, as well as for its connection with the group of writings which bear the title *Transitus Mariæ*.

A few words may be said on the cycles generally before passing to the special introductions.

1. Cycle on the Parents of Jesus and on the Nativity.

Joseph and Mary are somewhat abruptly introduced in the genuine Gospels, while a long preliminary history is given in Luke of Zacharias and Elizabeth, the parents of John the Baptist. This was plainly something to be remedied, and the oldest cycle of stories, apparently without a scintilla of real tradition behind them, relate to the parentage and birth of the Virgin Mary, the wonderful circumstances of her early life, her betrothal to Joseph, the Annunciation, and the events of the Nativity. The stories grow in detail and in wonderful character as they advance from the *Protevangelium of James* (the oldest), through the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* to a third piece, not included in this volume, *The Nativity of Mary* (on the relation of these writings, see below). But the main outlines of the narrative are early fixed. They include such features as the following :—How Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, were rich, but childless ; Joachim's distress at being repulsed from the Temple because he had no seed ; his flight and fasting, and the grief of Anna ; the angelic promise to the godly pair ; the birth of Mary, and her dedication to God ; the marvellous incidents of her infancy ; how she lived with other virgins at the Temple from her third to her twelfth (or

fourteenth) year, behaving astonishingly, and being fed by angels; how an aged guardian of her virginity was sought for, and by a Divine sign was found in Joseph, to whom, accordingly, she was betrothed; the Annunciation to Mary; Joseph's concern at her condition; the trial of Joseph and Mary by the water of jealousy at the Temple; the journey to Bethlehem, and birth of Jesus in a cave outside the city; the marvels attending the Nativity, etc. In the later versions of the legend the growing exaltation of Mary is very apparent. New stories arise also of the death of Joseph, and of the passing of the soul of Mary, and assumption of her body (*Transitus Mariæ*). Of the latter type of story one specimen is given (*see below*).

2. The Boyhood of Jesus. The entire silence of the Gospel history on the early life of Jesus naturally afforded scope for invention, and the legend-mongers of the second and later centuries did not miss their opportunity. The blank in the narrative of the childhood and youth of Jesus was early filled up with an abundance of prodigies of the crudest and most puerile kind. The parent of this class of Gospel, or rather the earliest form of it, was the so-called *Gospel of Thomas*, which had its successors in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and, still later, in the wildly-extravagant *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*. The absurdity of the sayings and doings attributed to the boy Jesus in this cycle of stories is only equalled by their grotesque incongruity with His real character. The single effect of placing them alongside the narratives of the genuine Gospels must be, as Dr. Westcott has said, to impress the reader with the sense of 'complete contrast.' Time, place, propriety, even ordinary

consistency, are recklessly disregarded. Jesus has and exercises from His cradle all Divine powers—is omniscient, omnipotent, etc.—yet plays with the children in the street, and amuses Himself by making pools of water and moulding clay sparrows. When challenged for breaking the Sabbath, He claps His hands and His sparrows fly away. He is the terror of the places in which He resides. If boy or man offends, injures or contradicts Him, He smites the offender dead, or otherwise avenges Himself. He confounds His teachers, and instructs them in the mysteries of the Hebrew letters. When His pitcher breaks, He carries home the water in His lap. He aids Joseph in his carpentry by lengthening or shortening the pieces of wood at pleasure. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* gives a special series of miracles wrought by Jesus as a child in Egypt (chaps. xvii. to xxv. These chapters only are included in this volume). The *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* gives the rein to fancy in stories of marvels and transformations, which, in their bizarre extravagance, remind of nothing so much as of the *Arabian Nights*.

3. Cycle of Pilate and Nicodemus. The evangelists give full narratives of the events of the betrayal, trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection of Jesus. The excuse of silence, therefore, cannot be pleaded here. The apocryphal narrators, however, saw room for embellishment, expansion, and sometimes modification (see on *Gospel of Peter* below). Later, apparently within the Catholic Church itself, they produced a series of fictitious writings, bearing on the parts taken by Pilate, Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea and others, in these scenes of the Saviour's suffering and triumph. First came a number of

alleged letters and reports from Pilate, doubtful in date and origin, but none in their present form early. Then appeared in varying recensions the so-called *Acts of Pilate* or *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which certainly is not older than the fourth, and is possibly as late as the fifth, century. The sobriety of the Gospel histories did not satisfy the taste of these enterprising compilers. Jesus was not made to appear sufficiently Divine in his trial before the Roman procurators; Pilate's sympathy with Jesus was not sufficiently accentuated; the testimony to Christ's innocence was not thrown into bold enough relief. All this was now amended. The altercation between Pilate and Christ's accusers assumes a lengthened and highly dramatic form; Pilate avows himself unequivocally on Christ's side (*see also the Gospel of Peter*); the Saviour has miraculous attestation of His dignity, *e.g.*, in the Roman standards bowing down to Him as He passes with honour into the judgment hall; the persons whose healings are narrated in the Gospels—the impotent man of John v., the woman with the issue of blood, Bartimæus, those from whom demons had been expelled, step forward and bear witness to His power. The same kind of elaboration appears in the parts taken in the history by Nicodemus and Joseph; the whole culminating in the testimony before the Sanhedrim by eye-witnesses to the Ascension of Jesus, on receiving which Annas, Caiaphas and the Rabbis believe! A second part of the Gospel (later in origin, and not included in this selection) recounts from the lips of the two sons of Symeon, raised from the dead, the triumphs of Jesus in Hades, during the interval between His death and Resurrection.

Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. The same motives which led to the composition of Apocryphal Gospels naturally

led to the production of a multitude of spurious Acts of Apostles. These profess to narrate the journeyings, doings and teachings of the Apostles of Christ (Peter, Thomas, Andrew, Thaddæus, Matthew, etc.) after their dispersion from Jerusalem. The groundwork of several of the Acts belongs to the second century, though, in their present form, most are Catholic recastings of much later date. The *Acts of Peter and Paul*, which relate the conflicts of these Apostles with Simon Magus are of this character (in their present form probably from fourth or fifth century). The *Acts of Thomas* still bear on them the clear imprint of the Gnosticism in which they originated (second or third century). Old 'Journeyings of Peter' are wrought up in the Ebionitic *Clementine* writings (second century). The oldest and freshest extant specimen of this class of literature is the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, on which see below. The apocryphal 'Apocalypses,' of which there were a great many (of Paul, Peter, John, etc.), must here be left unnoticed. A fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* was discovered with the *Gospel of Peter* at Akhmim in 1886, and was published in 1902.

Something may now be said by way of more special introduction to the writings included in this volume.

1. **The Protevangelium of James.** This oldest of the extant Apocryphal Gospels claims to have been written by James (the Just) in Jerusalem. It was first published in the Latin version of Postellus in 1552. It exists in numerous Greek MSS., the best of which is said to be one of the tenth century. The Syriac versions are older, and, with occasional abbreviations, agree fairly with the Greek text, and with one another.

The fragment translated by Dr. Wright is supposed to belong to the sixth century; the text on the palimpsest of Mrs. Lewis is referred to the fifth or sixth century. The Gospel in its present form can hardly (notwithstanding Tischendorf) be put earlier than the third century; but the older form lying behind it certainly goes back to the second century. Coincidences are noted between the Gospel and Justin Martyr (A.D. 150) which, in the opinion of good scholars, point to its use by that apologist (*cp.* Sanday on *The Gospels in the Second Century*). Origen refers to the *Book of James* in proof that Joseph had sons by a former wife (in *Matt.* tom. x. 17); and the connection with the *Protevangelium* is not disproved by the fact that elsewhere he gives a different account of the death of Zacharias (in *Matt. Tract.* 25). The contents of the Gospel show it to have been partly based on the narratives of the Nativity in Matthew and Luke. That in its present form it is composite seems evident from chap. xviii., which is put in the first person into the mouth of Joseph, and is extravagant in its style of description. On the ground of this chapter one is tempted to suspect an origin in Essenian-Ebionitic circles. Either in its present or in an earlier shape it formed the basis of the writing afterwards to be mentioned—the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and through it of the later *Nativity of Mary*. A prominent motive of the composer is obviously to exalt the virginity of Mary. On the errors in which the work abounds *see* the Notes.

2. The Gospel of Thomas. This Gospel, as formerly mentioned, gives the account of the sayings and doings, but specially of the miracles, of Jesus in His boyhood up to His twelfth year. The reference to one of the stories in Irenæus

(above, p. vi.), shows that the work originated in Gnostic circles, and was in use in substance in the second half of the second century. It is cited by Origen (*Hom. i. in Luc.*), and after him frequently by Fathers of the Church. We do not, however, possess the Gospel in its original form, but only in much later Catholic recasts—two of them Greek, one Latin, and one Syriac. Of the first and longer Greek version (that adopted in this volume) several MSS. exist; the second Greek version is much abbreviated; the Latin, on the other hand, is considerably enlarged. The two latter versions were discovered by Tischendorf, as also a third closely-related version, which, as seen below, he took to be a continuation of *Pseudo-Matthew*. The Syriac version of Dr. Wright is again short, and omits extensive portions. The character of the stories which make up the Gospel has already been described. The spirit which pervades them is well expressed in the remonstrance to Joseph of the parents whose child Jesus had killed: ‘Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village; or else teach Him to bless and not to curse; for He is killing our children’ (chap. iv.); and in the saying in chap. viii., ‘And no one after that dared to make Him angry, lest He should curse him, and he should be maimed.’ Only three or four miracles of mercy occur (chaps. vii., viii., xiv., xv.). In addition to the stories of miracles in the other versions, the Latin version has one of Jesus making a dried fish to breathe and swim.

3. The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. The secondary character and late date of this Gospel are apparent at a glance. It exists only in Latin, and professes to be a translation by

St. Jerome from the Hebrew of St. Matthew. It is therefore, by confession, not earlier than the fifth century. Prefixed to it are forged letters from two bishops to Jerome, and from Jerome to the bishops. In one of the latter the writer cannot help discovering that what he is really working with is an old Gnostic book of the imaginary Leucius. As printed by Thilo, the Gospel consists of twenty-four chapters (in Tischendorf's reckoning twenty-five), of which the first seventeen are based on the *Protevangelium*, and the remaining seven, derived from some unknown and probably Gnostic source, narrate the wonders attending the Saviour's sojourn in Egypt. Tischendorf, on the other hand, extends the Gospel to forty-two chapters by the addition of seventeen chapters discovered by him in a Vatican MS. These chapters (xxvi.-xlii.) are akin in character to the *Gospel of Thomas*, but other scholars (as Lipsius) challenge Tischendorf's right to regard them as any part of *Pseudo-Matthew*. In the story of the Nativity, this Gospel introduces a few new features—specially that of the ox and the ass adoring the child in the manger (chap. xiv.). The only really original part of it is the account it gives of the miracles in Egypt. This portion alone, therefore, it has been thought necessary to reproduce. The *Nativity of Mary*, to which reference has already been made, is based mainly on this Gospel. It gives in independent form the substance of the narrative as far as the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem. The *Nativity* was an exceedingly popular book in the Middle Ages. It was for long attributed to Jerome. Its contents were transferred almost entirely into the *Legenda Aurea* (thirteenth century), and poetry and sacred art are much indebted to it (*see below*).

4. The Gospel of Nicodemus. The general nature and contents of this Gospel have been described in an earlier section. Its older title was *The Acts of Pilate*; the name *Gospel of Nicodemus* does not appear before the thirteenth century. It exists in a longer and a shorter Greek form (each sixteen chapters; the longer form is that here adopted); in a Latin version which, after the commencement, agrees closely with the longer Greek till near the end; in a Coptic and in an Armenian version (*cp.* on last, F. C. Conybeare, *Studia Biblica*, 1896). A continuation of the Gospel in eleven (Latin thirteen) chapters narrates the descent of Jesus into Hades, and His doings there. It is a question among scholars whether this continuation was part of the original Gospel or was an independent composition. It, like the first part, exists in three forms—a shorter, appended to the second (shorter) Greek, and a longer and a shorter Latin. It is wanting to the longer Greek Gospel. It seems probable that this second portion was really an appendix, but it may have formed part of the shorter Greek, and also of the Latin versions. The shorter Latin form shows wide divergencies from the others. The Gospel professes to be a translation from the Hebrew, but the Greek text is undoubtedly the original. The prologue (in the longer Greek and Latin) gives dates in the reigns of Theodosius and Valentinian for the alleged translation (*circa* A.D. 425), which would seem to fix the appearance of the Gospel at earliest in the fifth century. On the strength of references to ‘Acts of Pilate’ in Justin Martyr and Tertullian, Tischendorf would carry back the original to the second century; and it is probable that the ‘Acts’ alluded to furnished some basis for the existing romance. The versions vary in regard to the names given to author and translator. The longer Greek and Latin

have really two introductions, the first of which names Ananias (Greek) or Æneas (Latin) as the translator of Hebrew writings of the Jews, and the second gives Nicodemus as the author. The shorter Greek, on the other hand, makes Æneas the author, and Nicodemus the translator (the name Ananias probably was changed to Æneas through association with Virgil's descent of Æneas into the under-world in the *Æneid*). The writer knows Hebrew (*cp.* chaps. i. and xl.); therefore was probably a Jew. He shows himself, however, in many points ignorant of the topography of Palestine; thinks, *e.g.*, that Jesus was crucified in the garden in which He was seized (chap. ix.), and places Mount Mamilch or Malek (south of Jerusalem) in Galilee, and confounds it with the Mount of Ascension (chaps. xv. and xvi.). The Gospel abounds in proper names, *e.g.*, the names of members of the Sanhedrim (chap. i.); Alexander (chap. i.); the twelve defenders of Jesus (chap. ii.); Procla as name of Pilate's wife, and Bernice or Veronica as name of the woman whose issue of blood was healed (chaps. ii. and vii. in shorter Greek, and some MSS.); Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors (chap. ix.); Longinus, the centurion at the Crucifixion (chap. xvi.).

5. The Gospel of Peter. Early Church writers repeatedly refer to this work. The earliest notice is by Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (*circa* A.D. 191), who found 'the Gospel put forward under Peter's name' in use in the Church of Rhossus, and for a time permitted it to be read, but afterwards, on examination, condemned it for its docetic teaching (Euseb., *H. E.* vi. 12). Origen (*in Matt.* tom. x. 17) adduces *The Gospel according to Peter* along with *The Book of James* (above, p. xv.), in evidence that Jesus had brothers, sons of Joseph by a former wife.

than the middle of the second century, while the deposition of its author shows that forgery of books was not regarded as a venial offence (there is no reason to suppose that the teaching of the book gave general offence, though Tertullian took exception to some points in it). Notwithstanding this condemnation, the book continued to be popular in the Church, and its incidents are referred to as authentic, and with approval or panegyric, by a long train of Fathers (*see* the lengthy article on 'Thecla,' by Dr. Gwynn, in the *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*). The story is too elaborate even to outline with any fulness. Thecla, the daughter of a lady of some rank in Iconium, is entranced by Paul's teaching on virginity, which she overhears from her window, and, in consequence, refuses to marry the man to whom she is betrothed. This leads to the arrest of the Apostle; then, when she succeeds by bribery in obtaining access to him by night in his prison, to her own arrest. She is condemned to be burned, but is miraculously delivered from the fire. She rejoins Paul outside the city, and accompanies him to Antioch (Pisidia or Syria?), where, for defending herself against the violence of the Syriarch Alexander, and tearing off his crown, she is accused of treason. She is condemned to the wild beasts, but in the interval is put under the care of the widowed Queen Tryphæna, resident in the city. In the arena the beasts refuse to touch her, or she is preserved from them. In the end she performs self-baptism by plunging into a trough of water containing seals. These are killed by lightning to prevent them hurting her. She is the means of the conversion of Tryphæna and her household. She follows Paul to Myra, then returns to Iconium, and finally departs to Seleucia, where she lives in a cave for seventy-two years, enlightening many. The extant Greek texts go on to narrate

new trials that befell her there in old age, but these are probably later additions. They are not found in the Latin and Syriac texts, which here represent the oldest tradition (the first Greek text to be edited was Grabe's, 1698; *see* below, p. xxiv). It must indeed be held to be doubtful whether the whole representation of the ascetic life in the cave is not too early for the second century. An interesting question is whether some basis of fact does not underlie this curious romance or legend. The Church Fathers seem unanimously to assume that there was such a basis; and this has been rendered probable by recent investigations, which prove that Queen Tryphæna was a real personage, and that her relations with Thecla suit the conditions of the history (*see* Notes; and *cp.* Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 386; and article in *Expositor*, sixth series, Vol. VI., on 'A Lost Chapter of Early Christian History'). The story, nevertheless, is in its details a fiction. It is written in praise of virginity, which it exalts to an extravagant degree. Paul is made to teach that salvation is hardly possible without it. This suits the Encratite and Montanistic tendencies of the age, and might have been expected to recommend the book to Tertullian. But he stumbled at the apparent sanction given in it to a woman baptizing and teaching. The story has many traits illustrative of second-century usage and tradition; *e.g.*, its description of Paul's personal appearance (*see* Notes), its allusions to the sign of the Cross, prayers for the dead, and the like.

7. The Falling Asleep of Mary. More fully, *The Account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep (koimēsis) of the Holy Mother of God.* This Greek writing (in five MSS.), or a more original form of it, is probably the basis of the large family

of versions (Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Sahidic) of the work widely circulating in the fifth century under the name, *The Passing or Departure of Mary* (*Transitus Mariæ*). A book bearing this name is condemned as apocryphal in the decree of Gelasius (A.D. 494?). Its popularity, however, is evidenced by the number of early versions which exist of it. These show at the same time that, in the strong trend of their age to Mary-worship, the fifth-century writers used the largest freedom in recomposing, amplifying, embellishing, and otherwise altering, the narrative they had received, to suit their own tastes. The longer Syriac version (Wright, Lewis, Harris), *e.g.*, extends to five (or six) books, and in translation occupies about fifty-seven of Mrs. Lewis's large pages (in Wright, thirty pages of J.S.L.). Long episodes are introduced, as that of a controversy between believers and unbelievers before the governor at Jerusalem, which certainly had no place in the original story. The nucleus or groundwork of the narrative, however, can readily be distinguished. Mary, persecuted by the Jews for her visits to the tomb of Jesus, prays to her Son that He would take her from the earth; and Jesus, through the angel Gabriel, grants her prayer (according to a Latin version, Jesus had promised to let her know of her death the third day before). Betaking herself to Bethlehem with her virgins, she prays that John and all the other Apostles may be sent to her, and this request also Christ grants. Accordingly, John from Ephesus, and the other Apostles from the different countries whither they are scattered, are brought, each in a cloud of light, to the death-bed of Mary. The Apostles also who had died are brought temporarily from their graves to her chamber. At Mary's desire, each narrates how and where he received his summons. The wonders attending Mary's last

hours, the miracles of healing wrought by her, and the instantaneous transportation of herself and the Apostles back to Jerusalem, to escape the rage of the Jews, are then described. On the Lord's day, amidst visions of angels and heavenly signs, Christ Himself appears, and receives her soul to Himself. The burial of her body, with miraculous accessories, follows; finally, according to Christ's promise, her body also is translated to Paradise (the old Eden, but an abode of bliss). The versions vary a good deal in this part; some (Syriac) making the removal to a cave outside Jerusalem precede the death; another (Tischendorf's second Latin) making Christ raise Mary from the dead and transport her body to heaven after she had been buried in a new tomb. In the piece here printed this story is put in the form of narrative into the mouth of the Apostle John. Its account is probably nearer the original than any of the other versions. Even in its simplest form, however, the book represents an advanced stage of Mary worship and Church ritual such as cannot be earlier than the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century. Mary is the Blessed One, Our Lady, the Mother of God (*theotokos*), sinless, incorrupt in body as in soul, the intercessor for the world with Christ, adored of men and angels, a worker of miracles, etc. The assumption of her body to Paradise is already an article of belief (if, indeed, this composition is not the origin of that belief). Church ritual and ceremony are carried back to the days of the Apostles. Mary can never pray without calling for censer and incense; John was ministering at the altar at Ephesus; Peter was sacrificing at the altar at Rome (Syriac); Mark was just 'finishing the canon of the third day' at Alexandria; even Paul, when he received his summons, 'set up his censer of incense,' and prayed (Syriac). Relics have

a miraculous virtue, etc. There can be little doubt that Ewald was correct when he said of the *Transitus*, that 'this book has become from the first the firm foundation for all the unhappy adoration of Mary, and for a hundred superstitious things, which have intruded with less and less resistance into the churches, and have contributed so much to the degeneration and to the crippling of all better Christianity' (in Wright). Hence its importance in the study of the history of Catholic theology.

Influence of the Apocryphal Writings. It has already been mentioned that the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts have exercised a powerful influence on later Catholic tradition. Through the Breviary, the *Legenda Aurea*, the Miracle Plays, and the popular literature of the Church, a large part of their legendary material has become incorporated into current Catholic belief, and even doctrine and worship. Joachim and Anna, Mary's parents, are saints in the Roman calendar. The *Protevangelium* and the *Nativity of Mary* furnish the incidents for whole groups of Miracle Plays (see the *Coventry* and the *Chester Mysteries*, in the Shakespeare Society collections). The *Transitus Mariæ* has given a chief support to, if it did not originate, the doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin, which many at the Vatican Council desired to erect into a dogma. Mohammed also derived some of his ideas of Christianity from apocryphal sources. The influence of the apocryphal narratives on sacred art has likewise been immense. The ox and the ass at the manger, *e.g.*, is a constant feature. The influences on general literature are noticed elsewhere.

The Translations. The principle on which a selection

of pieces has been made in the present volume has been explained in preceding paragraphs. With the exception of that of the *Gospel of Peter*, the translations are taken from the volume on 'Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations' in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* of Messrs T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. The translation of the *Gospel of Peter* is that of the late Rev. John Macpherson, M.A., in Schubert's tractate on the subject, likewise published by T. & T. Clark. On this, however, several verbal changes have been made to bring it into nearer accord with the present state of scholarship. Thanks are due to the publishers for permission to use these translations.

The Protevangelium of James

*(The birth of Mary the Holy Mother of God, and
very Glorious Mother of Jesus Christ.)*

IN the records of the twelve tribes of Israel was *The*
Joachim, a man rich exceedingly; and he *Father of*
brought his offerings double, saying: There shall be *Mary*
of my superabundance to all the people, and there
shall be the offering for my forgiveness to the Lord ⁵
for a propitiation for me. For the great day of the
Lord was at hand, and the sons of Israel were
bringing their offerings. And there stood over
against him Rubim, saying: It is not meet for thee
first to bring thine offerings, because thou hast not ¹⁰
made seed in Israel. And Joachim was exceedingly
grieved, and went away to the registers of the twelve
tribes of the people, saying: I shall see the registers
of the twelve tribes of Israel, as to whether I alone
have not made seed in Israel. And he searched, ¹⁵
and found that all the righteous had raised up seed
in Israel. And he called to mind the patriarch
Abraham, that in the last day God gave him a son
Isaac. And Joachim was exceedingly grieved, and
did not come into the presence of his wife; but he ²⁰
retired to the desert, and there pitched his tent, and
fasted forty days and forty nights, saying in himself:

Sorrow I will not go down either for food or for drink until
of Anna the Lord my God shall look upon me, and prayer
and shall be my food and drink.

Joachim 2. And his wife Anna mourned in two mournings,
5 and lamented in two lamentations, saying: I shall
bewail my widowhood; I shall bewail my childless-
ness. And the great day of the Lord was at hand;
and Judith her maid-servant said: How long dost
thou humiliate thy soul? Behold, the great day of
10 the Lord is at hand, and it is unlawful for thee to
mourn. But take this head-band, which the woman
that made it gave to me; for it is not proper that I
should wear it, because I am a maid-servant, and it
has a royal appearance. And Anna said: Depart
15 from me; for I have not done such things, and the
Lord has brought me very low. I fear that some
wicked person has given it to thee, and thou hast
come to make me a sharer in thy sin. And Judith
said: Why should I curse thee, seeing that the Lord
20 hath shut thy womb, so as not to give thee fruit in
Israel? And Anna was grieved exceedingly, and
put off her garments of mourning, and cleaned her
head, and put on her wedding garments, and about the
ninth hour went down to the garden to walk. And
25 she saw a laurel, and sat under it, and prayed to the
Lord, saying: O God of our fathers, bless me and
hear my prayer, as Thou didst bless the womb of
Sarah, and didst give her a son Isaac.

3. And gazing towards the heaven, she saw a

sparrow's nest in the laurel, and made a lamentation *Angelic*
in herself, saying: Alas! who begot me? and what *Missions*
womb produced me? because I have become a curse *to Anna*
in the presence of the sons of Israel, and I have been *and*
reproached, and they have driven me in derision out *Joachim*
of the temple of the Lord. Alas! to what have I
been likened? I am not like the fowls of the
heaven, because even the fowls of the heaven are
productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what
have I been likened? I am not like the beasts of ¹⁰
the earth, because even the beasts of the earth are
productive before Thee, O Lord. Alas! to what
have I been likened? I am not like these waters,
because even these waters are productive before Thee,
O Lord. Alas! to what have I been likened? ¹⁵
I am not like this earth, because even the earth
bringeth forth its fruits in season, and blesseth Thee,
O Lord.

4. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by,
saying: Anna, Anna, the Lord hath heard thy ²⁰
prayer, and thou shalt conceive, and shalt bring
forth; and thy seed shall be spoken of in all the
world. And Anna said: As the Lord my God
liveth, if I beget either male or female, I will bring
it as a gift to the Lord my God; and it shall ²⁵
minister to Him in holy things all the days of its
life. And, behold, two angels came, saying to her:
Behold, Joachim thy husband is coming with his
flocks. For an angel of the Lord went down to

Joachim's him, saying : Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God hath
Joy heard thy prayer. Go down hence ; for, behold,
thy wife Anna shall conceive. And Joachim went
down and called his shepherds, saying : Bring me
5 hither ten she-lambs without spot or blemish, and
they shall be for the Lord my God ; and bring me
twelve tender calves, and they shall be for the priests
and the elders ; and a hundred goats for all the
people. And, behold, Joachim came with his
10 flocks ; and Anna stood by the gate, and saw
Joachim coming, and she ran and hung upon his neck,
saying : Now I know that the Lord God hath
blessed me exceedingly ; for, behold, the widow no
longer a widow, and I the childless shall conceive.
15 And Joachim rested the first day in his house.

5. And on the following day he brought his
offerings, saying in himself : If the Lord God has
been rendered gracious to me, the plate on the
priest's forehead will make it manifest to me. And
20 Joachim brought his offerings, and observed attentively
the priest's plate when he went up to the altar of the
Lord, and he saw no sin in himself. And Joachim
said : Now I know that the Lord has been gracious
unto me, and has remitted all my sins. And he
25 went down from the temple of the Lord justified,
and departed to his own house. And her months
were fulfilled, and in the ninth month Anna brought
forth. And she said to the midwife : What have I
brought forth ? and she said : A girl. And said

Anna: My soul has been magnified this day. And *Birth and* she laid her down. And the days having been *Childhood* fulfilled, Anna was purified, and gave the breast to *of Mary* the child, and called her name Mary.

6. And the child grew strong day by day; and 5 when she was six months old, her mother set her on the ground to try whether she could stand, and she walked seven steps and came into her bosom; and she snatched her up, saying: As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk on this earth until I bring 10 thee into the temple of the Lord. And she made a sanctuary in her bed-chamber, and allowed nothing common or unclean to pass through her. And she called the undefiled daughters of the Hebrews, and they led her astray. And when she was a 15 year old, Joachim made a great feast, and invited the priests, and the scribes, and the elders, and all the people of Israel. And Joachim brought the child to the priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God of our fathers, bless this child, and give her 20 an everlasting name to be named in all generations. And all the people said: So be it, so be it, amen. And he brought her to the chief priests; and they blessed her, saying: O God most high, look upon this child, and bless her with the utmost blessing, 25 which shall be for ever. And her mother snatched her up, and took her into the sanctuary of her bed-chamber, and gave her the breast. And Anna made a song to the Lord God, saying: I will sing a song

Mary to the Lord my God, for He hath looked upon me,
taken to and hath taken away the reproach of mine enemies ;
the Temple and the Lord hath given me the fruit of His
righteousness, singular in its kind, and richly en-
5 dowed before Him. Who will tell the sons of
Rubim that Anna gives suck? Hear, hear, ye
twelve tribes of Israel, that Anna gives suck. And
she laid her to rest in the bed-chamber of her
sanctuary, and went out and ministered unto them.
10 And when the supper was ended, they went down
rejoicing, and glorifying the God of Israel.

7. And her months were added to the child.
And the child was two years old, and Joachim
said : Let us take her up to the temple of the Lord,
15 that we may pay the vow that we have vowed, lest
perchance the Lord send to us, and our offering be
not received. And Anna said : Let us wait for the
third year, in order that the child may not seek for
father or mother. And Joachim said : So let us
20 wait. And the child was three years old, and
Joachim said : Invite the daughters of the Hebrews
that are undefiled, and let them take each a lamp,
and let them stand with the lamps burning, that the
child may not turn back, and her heart be captivated
25 from the temple of the Lord. And they did so
until they went up into the temple of the Lord.
And the priest received her, and kissed her, and
blessed her, saying : The Lord has magnified thy
name in all generations. In thee, on the last of the

days, the Lord will manifest His redemption to the *Mary* sons of Israel. And he set her down upon the third *abides in* step of the altar, and the Lord God sent grace upon *the Temple* her; and she danced with her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her. 5

8. And her parents went down marvelling, and praising the Lord God, because the child had not turned back. And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel. And when 10 she was twelve years old there was held a council of the priests, saying: Behold, Mary has reached the age of twelve years in the temple of the Lord. What then shall we do with her, lest perchance she defile the sanctuary of the Lord? And they said to 15 the high priest: Thou standest by the altar of the Lord; go in, and pray concerning her; and whatever the Lord shall manifest unto thee, that also will we do. And the high priest went in, taking the robe with the twelve bells into the holy of holies; and he 20 prayed concerning her. And behold an angel of the Lord stood by him, saying unto him: Zacharias, Zacharias, go out and assemble the widowers of the people, and let them bring each his rod; and to whomsoever the Lord shall show a sign, his wife 25 shall she be. And the heralds went out through all the circuit of Judea, and the trumpet of the Lord sounded, and all ran.

9. And Joseph, throwing away his axe, went out

Joseph to meet them; and when they had assembled, they
chosen as went away to the high priest, taking with them their
Mary's rods. And he, taking the rods of all of them,
Protector entered into the temple, and prayed; and having
5 ended his prayer, he took the rods and came out, and
gave them to them: but there was no sign in them,
and Joseph took his rod last; and, behold, a dove
came out of the rod, and flew upon Joseph's head.
And the priest said to Joseph, Thou hast been
10 chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of
the Lord. But Joseph refused, saying: I have
children, and I am an old man, and she is a young
girl. I am afraid lest I become a laughing-stock to
the sons of Israel. And the priest said to Joseph:
15 Fear the Lord thy God, and remember what the
Lord did to Dathan, and Abiram, and Korah; how
the earth opened, and they were swallowed up on
account of their contradiction. And now fear, O
Joseph, lest the same things happen in thy house. And
20 Joseph was afraid, and took her into his keeping. And
Joseph said to Mary: Behold, I have received thee
from the temple of the Lord; and now I leave thee
in my house, and go away to build my buildings,
and I shall come to thee. The Lord will protect
25 thee.

10. And there was a council of the priests,
saying: Let us make a veil for the temple of the
Lord. And the priest said: Call to me undefiled
virgins of the family of David. And the officers

went away, and sought, and found seven virgins. *The*
 And the priest remembered the child Mary, that she *Annuncia-*
 was of the family of David, and undefiled before God. *tion*
 And the officers went away and brought her. And
 they brought them into the temple of the Lord. 5
 And the priest said: Choose for me by lot who
 shall spin the gold, and the white, and the fine linen,
 and the silk, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the
 true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet
 fell to the lot of Mary, and she took them, and ¹⁰
 went away to her house. And at that time Zacharias
 was dumb, and Samuel was in his place until the
 time that Zacharias spake. And Mary took the
 scarlet, and span it.

11. And she took the pitcher, and went out to fill 15
 it with water. And, behold, a voice saying: Hail,
 thou who hast received grace; the Lord is with
 thee; blessed art thou among women! And she
 looked round, on the right hand and on the left, to
 see whence this voice came. And she went away, 20
 trembling, to her house, and put down the pitcher;
 and taking the purple, she sat down on her seat, and
 drew it out. And, behold, an angel of the Lord
 stood before her, saying: Fear not, Mary; for thou
 hast found grace before the Lord of all, and thou 25
 shalt conceive, according to His word. And she
 hearing, reasoned with herself, saying: Shall I con-
 ceive by the Lord, the living God? and shall I
 bring forth as every woman brings forth? And the

Mary angel of the Lord said : Not so, Mary ; for the
visits power of the Lord shall overshadow thee : where-
Elizabeth fore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee
shall be called the Son of the Most High. And
5 thou shalt call His name Jesus, for He shall save
His people from their sins. And Mary said : Behold,
the servant of the Lord before His face : let it be
unto me according to thy word.

12. And she made the purple and the scarlet, and
10 took them to the priest. And the priest blessed her,
and said : Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy
name, and thou shall be blessed in all the generations
of the earth. And Mary, with great joy, went away
to Elizabeth her kinswoman, and knocked at the
15 door. And when Elizabeth heard her, she threw
away the scarlet, and ran to the door, and opened it ;
and seeing Mary, she blessed her, and said : Whence
is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should
come to me ? for, behold, that which is in me leaped
20 and blessed thee. But Mary had forgotten the
mysteries of which the archangel Gabriel had spoken,
and gazed up into heaven, and said : Who am I, O
Lord, that all the generations of the earth should
bless me ? And she remained three months with
25 Elizabeth ; and day by day she grew bigger. And
Mary being afraid, went away to her own house, and
hid herself from the sons of Israel. And she was
sixteen years old when these mysteries happened.

13. And she was in her sixth month ; and, behold,

Joseph came back from his building, and, entering *Joseph's* into his house, he discovered that she was big with *Grief over* child. And he smote his face, and threw himself on *Mary's* the ground upon the sackcloth, and wept bitterly, *State* saying : With what face shall I look upon the Lord 5 my God ? and what prayer shall I make about this maiden ? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and I have not watched over her. Who is it that has hunted me down ? Who has done this evil thing in my house, and defiled the 10 virgin ? Has not the history of Adam been repeated in me ? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise, and the serpent came, and found Eve alone, and completely deceived her, so it has happened to me also. And Joseph stood up from the sackcloth, 15 and called Mary, and said to her : O thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this, and forgotten the Lord thy God ? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou that wast brought up in the holy of holies, and that didst receive food from 20 the hand of an angel ? And she wept bitterly, saying : I am innocent, and have known no man. And Joseph said to her : Whence then is that which is in thy womb ? And she said : As the Lord my God liveth, I do not know whence it is to me. 25

14. And Joseph was greatly afraid, and retired from her, and considered what he should do in regard to her. And Joseph said : If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord ; and

Joseph & if I expose her to the sons of Israel, I am afraid lest *Mary* that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be *before the* found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death.

Tribunal What then shall I do with her? I will put her
 5 away from me secretly. And night came upon him;
 and, behold, an angel of the Lord appears to him in
 a dream, saying: Be not afraid for this maiden, for
 that which is in her is of the Holy Spirit; and she
 will bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call His name
 10 Jesus, for He will save His people from their sins.
 And Joseph arose from sleep, and glorified the God
 of Israel, who had given him this grace; and he
 kept her.

15. And Annas the scribe came to him, and said:
 15 Why hast thou not appeared in our assembly? And
 Joseph said to him: Because I was weary from my
 journey, and rested the first day. And he turned,
 and saw that Mary was with child. And he ran
 away to the priest, and said to him: Joseph, whom
 20 thou didst vouch for, has committed a grievous crime.
 And the priest said: How so? And he said: He
 has defiled the virgin whom he received out of the
 temple of the Lord, and has married her by stealth,
 and has not revealed it to the sons of Israel. And
 25 the priest answering, said: Has Joseph done this?
 Then said Annas the scribe: Send officers, and thou
 wilt find the virgin with child. And the officers
 went away, and found it as he had said; and they
 brought her along with Joseph to the tribunal. And

the priest said : Mary, why hast thou done this ? and *They drink*
 why hast thou brought thy soul low, and forgotten *the Water*
 the Lord thy God ? Thou that wast reared in the *of the*
 holy of holies, and that didst receive food from the *Ordeal*
 hand of an angel, and didst hear the hymns, and 5
 didst dance before Him, why hast thou done this ?
 And she wept bitterly, saying : As the Lord my
 God liveth, I am pure before Him, and know not a
 man. And the priest said to Joseph : Why hast
 thou done this ? And Joseph said : As the Lord 10
 liveth, I am pure concerning her. Then said the
 priest : Bear not false witness, but speak the truth.
 Thou hast married her by stealth, and hast not
 revealed it to the sons of Israel, and hast not bowed
 thy head under the strong hand, that thy seed might 15
 be blessed. And Joseph was silent.

16. And the priest said : Give up the virgin whom
 thou didst receive out of the temple of the Lord.
 And Joseph burst into tears. And the priest said :
 I will give you to drink of the water of the ordeal 20
 of the Lord, and He shall make manifest your sins in
 your eyes. And the priest took the water, and gave
 Joseph to drink, and sent him away to the hill-
 country ; and he returned unhurt. And he gave to
 Mary also to drink, and sent her away to the hill- 25
 country ; and she returned unhurt. And all the
 people wondered that sin did not appear in them.
 And the priest said : If the Lord God has not made
 manifest your sins, neither do I judge you. And

Joseph & he sent them away. And Joseph took Mary, and Mary went away to his own house, rejoicing and glorifying journey to the God of Israel.

Bethlehem 17. And there was an order from the Emperor
5 Augustus, that all in Bethlehem of Judea should be enrolled. And Joseph said: I shall enrol my sons, but what shall I do with this maiden? How shall I enrol her? As my wife? I am ashamed. As my daughter then? But all the sons of Israel know
10 that she is not my daughter. The day of the Lord shall itself bring it to pass as the Lord will. And he saddled the ass, and set her upon it; and his son led it, and Joseph followed. And when they had come within three miles, Joseph turned and saw her
15 sorrowful; and he said to himself: Likely that which is in her distresses her. And again Joseph turned and saw her laughing. And he said to her: Mary, how is it that I see in thy face at one time laughter, at another sorrow? And Mary said to
20 Joseph: Because I see two peoples with my eyes; the one weeping and lamenting, and the other rejoicing and exulting. And they came into the middle of the road, and Mary said to him: Take me down from off the ass, for that which is in me presses
25 to come forth. And he took her down from off the ass, and said to her: Whither shall I lead thee, and cover thy disgrace? for the place is desert.

18. And he found a cave there, and led her into it; and leaving his two sons beside her, he went

out to seek a midwife in the district of Beth-lehem. *Miraculous Occurrences on the Way*

And I Joseph was walking, and was not walking ; and I looked up into the sky, and saw the sky astonished ; and I looked up to the pole of the heavens, and saw it standing, and the birds of the air keeping still. And I looked down upon the earth, and saw a trough lying, and work-people reclining : and their hands were in the trough. And those that were eating did not eat, and those that were rising did not carry it up, and those that were conveying anything to their mouths did not convey it ; but the faces of all were looking upwards. And I saw the sheep walking, and the sheep stood still ; and the shepherd raised his hand to strike them, and his hand remained up. And I looked upon the current of the river, and I saw the mouths of the kids resting on the water and not drinking, and all things in a moment were driven from their course.

19. And I saw a woman coming down from the hill-country, and she said to me : O man, whither art thou going ? And I said : I am seeking an Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said unto me : Art thou of Israel ? And I said to her : Yes. And she said : And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave ? And I said : A woman betrothed to me. And she said to me : Is she not thy wife ? And I said to her : It is Mary that was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as

Birth of my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has Jesus conceived of the Holy Spirit.

And the midwife said to him : Is this true ? And Joseph said to her : Come and see. And the mid-
5 wife went away with him. And they stood in the place of the cave, and behold a luminous cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said : My soul has been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things—because salvation has
10 been brought forth to Israel. And immediately the cloud disappeared out of the cave, and a great light shone in the cave, so that the eyes could not bear it. And in a little that light gradually decreased, until the infant appeared, and went and took the breast
15 from his mother Mary. And the midwife cried out, and said : This is a great day to me, because I have seen this strange sight. And the midwife went forth out of the cave, and Salome met her. And she said to her : Salome, Salome, I have a strange
20 sight to relate to thee : a virgin has brought forth—a thing which her nature admits not of. Then said Salome : As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger, and search the parts I will not believe that a virgin has brought forth.

25 20. And the midwife went in, and said to Mary : Show thyself ; for no small controversy has arisen about thee. And Salome put in her finger, and cried out, and said : Woe is me for mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living

God; and, behold, my hand is dropping off as if *Salome's* burned with fire. And she bent her knees before *Punishment* the Lord, saying: O God of my fathers, remember *and Cure* that I am the seed of Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob; do not make a show of me to the sons of Israel, ⁵ but restore me to the poor; for Thou knowest, O Lord, that in Thy name I have performed my services, and that I have received my reward at Thy hand. And, behold, an angel of the Lord stood by her, saying to her: Salome, Salome, the Lord hath ¹⁰ heard thee. Put thy hand to the infant, and carry it, and thou wilt have safety and joy. And Salome went and carried it, saying: I will worship Him, because a great King has been born to Israel. And, behold, Salome was immediately cured, and she went ¹⁵ forth out of the cave justified. And behold a voice saying: Salome, Salome, tell not the strange things thou hast seen, until the child has come into Jerusalem.

21. And, behold, Joseph was ready to go into ²⁰ Judea. And there was a great commotion in Bethlehem of Judea, for Magi came, saying: Where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him. And when Herod heard, he was much disturbed, ²⁵ and sent officers to the Magi. And he sent for the priests, and examined them, saying: How is it written about the Christ? where is He to be born? And they said: In Bethlehem of Judea, for so it is

Visit of written. And he sent them away. And he ex-
the Magi amined the Magi, saying to them: What sign have
you seen in reference to the king that has been born?
And the Magi said: We have seen a star of great
5 size shining among these stars, and obscuring their
light, so that the stars did not appear; and we thus
knew that a king has been born to Israel, and we
have come to worship him. And Herod said: Go
and seek him; and if you find him, let me know,
10 in order that I also may go and worship him. And
the Magi went out. And, behold, the star which
they had seen in the east went before them until they
came to the cave, and it stood over the top of the
cave. And the Magi saw the infant with His
15 mother Mary; and they brought forth from their
bag gold, and frankincense, and myrrh. And
having been warned by the angel not to go into
Judea, they went into their own country by another
road.

20 22. And when Herod knew that he had been
mocked by the Magi, in a rage he sent murderers,
saying to them: Slay the children from two years
old and under. And Mary, having heard that the
children were being killed, was afraid, and took the
25 infant and swaddled Him, and put Him into an ox-
stall. And Elizabeth, having heard that they were
searching for John, took him and went up into the
hill-country, and kept looking where to conceal him.
And there was no place of concealment. And

Elizabeth, groaning with a loud voice, says: O *Murder of* mountain of God, receive mother and child. And *Zacharias* immediately the mountain was cleft, and received her. And a light shone about them, for an angel of the Lord was with them, watching over ⁵ them.

23. And Herod searched for John, and sent officers to Zacharias, saying: Where hast thou hid thy son? And he, answering, said to them: I am the servant of God in holy things, and I sit constantly ¹⁰ in the temple of the Lord: I do not know where my son is. And the officers went away, and reported all these things to Herod. And Herod was enraged, and said: His son is destined to be king over Israel. And he sent to him again, saying: Tell ¹⁵ the truth; where is thy son? for thou knowest that thy life is in my hand. And Zacharias said: I am God's martyr, if thou sheddest my blood; for the Lord will receive my spirit, because thou sheddest innocent blood at the vestibule of the temple of the ²⁰ Lord. And Zacharias was murdered about day-break. And the sons of Israel did not know that he had been murdered.

24. But at the hour of the salutation the priests went away, and Zacharias did not come forth to ²⁵ meet them with a blessing, according to his custom. And the priests stood waiting for Zacharias to salute him at the prayer, and to glorify the Most High. And he still delaying, they were all afraid. But one

Murder of of them ventured to go in, and he saw clotted blood
Zacharias beside the altar; and he heard a voice saying:
Zacharias has been murdered, and his blood shall not
be wiped up until his avenger come. And hearing
15 this saying, he was afraid, and went out and told it
to the priests. And they ventured in, and saw what
had happened; and the fretwork of the temple made
a wailing noise, and they rent their clothes from the
top even to the bottom. And they found not his
10 body, but they found his blood turned into stone.
And they were afraid, and went out and reported to
the people that Zacharias had been murdered. And
all the tribes of the people heard, and mourned, and
lamented for him three days and three nights. And
15 after the three days, the priests consulted as to whom
they should put in his place; and the lot fell upon
Simeon. For it was he who had been warned by
the Holy Spirit that he should not see death until he
should see the Christ in the flesh.

20 25. And I James that wrote this history in Jeru-
salem, a commotion having arisen when Herod died,
withdrew myself to the wilderness until the com-
motion in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord
God, who had given me the gift and the wisdom to
25 write this history. And grace shall be with them
that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory
to ages of ages. Amen.

The Gospel of Thomas

*(Thomas the Israelite Philosopher's Account of the
Infancy of the Lord.)*

I THOMAS, an Israelite, write you this ac- *Miracles*
count, that all the brethren from among the *of Jesus's*
heathen may know the miracles of our Lord Jesus *Infancy*
Christ in His infancy, which He did after His birth
in our country. The beginning of it is as follows:— 5

2. This child Jesus, when five years old, was
playing in the ford of a mountain stream; and He
collected the flowing waters into pools, and made
them clear immediately, and by a word alone He
made them obey Him. And having made some 10
soft clay, He fashioned out of it twelve sparrows.
And it was the Sabbath when He did these things.
And there were also many other children playing
with Him. And a certain Jew, seeing what Jesus
was doing, playing on the Sabbath, went off immedi- 15
ately, and said to his father Joseph: Behold, thy son
is at the stream, and has taken clay, and made of it
twelve birds, and has profaned the Sabbath. And
Joseph, coming to the place and seeing, cried out to
Him, saying: Wherefore doest thou on the Sabbath 20
what it is not lawful to do? And Jesus clapped His
hands, and cried out to the sparrows, and said to

The Son them : Off you go ! And the sparrows flew, and of *Annas* went off crying. And the Jews seeing this were *withered* amazed, and went away and reported to their chief up men what they had seen Jesus doing.

5 3. And the son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Joseph ; and he took a willow branch, and let out the waters which Jesus had collected. And Jesus, seeing what was done, was angry, and said to him : O wicked, impious, and foolish ! what harm
10 did the pools and the waters do to thee ? Behold, even now thou shalt be dried up like a tree, and thou shalt not bring forth either leaves, or root, or fruit. And straightway that boy was quite dried up. And Jesus departed, and went to Joseph's house. But
15 the parents of the boy that had been dried up took him up, bewailing his youth, and brought him to Joseph, and reproached him because [said they] thou hast such a child doing such things.

4. After that He was again passing through the
20 village ; and a boy ran up against Him, and struck His shoulder. And Jesus was angry, and said to him : Thou shalt not go back the way thou camest. And immediately he fell down dead. And some
25 who saw what had taken place, said : Whence was this child begotten, that every word of his is certainly accomplished ? And the parents of the dead boy went away to Joseph, and blamed him, saying : Since thou hast such a child, it is impossible for thee to live with us in the village ; or else teach

him to bless, and not to curse: for he is killing our *Jesus* children. *admonished*

5. And Joseph called the child apart, and ad-*for inflict-*
monished Him, saying: Why doest thou such things, *ing Death*
and these people suffer, and hate us, and persecute *on a Boy*
us? And Jesus said: I know that these words of
thine are not thine own; nevertheless for thy sake I
will be silent; but they shall bear their punishment.
And straightway those that accused Him were struck
blind. And those who saw it were much afraid and ¹⁰
in great perplexity, and said about Him: Every
word which he spoke, whether good or bad, was an
act, and became a wonder. And when they saw
that Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph rose and
took hold of His ear, and pulled it hard. And the ¹⁵
child was very angry, and said to him: It is enough
for thee to seek, and not to find; and most certainly
thou hast not done wisely. Knowest thou not that
I am thine? Do not trouble me.

6. And a certain teacher, Zacchæus by name, was ²⁰
standing in a certain place, and heard Jesus thus
speaking to his father; and he wondered exceedingly,
that, being a child, he should speak in such a way.
And a few days thereafter he came to Joseph, and
said to him: Thou hast a sensible child, and he has ²⁵
some mind. Give him to me, then, that he may
learn letters; and I shall teach him along with the
letters all knowledge, both how to address all the
elders, and to honour them as forefathers and fathers,

Zacchæus and how to love those of his own age. And He
essays to said to him all the letters from the Alpha even to
teach Jesus the Omega, clearly and with great exactness. And
He looked upon the teacher Zacchæus, and said to
5 him: Thou who art ignorant of the nature of
the Alpha, how canst thou teach others the
Beta? Thou hypocrite! first, if thou knowest,
teach the A, and then we shall believe thee about
the B. Then He began to question the teacher
10 about the first letter, and he was not able to answer
Him. And in the hearing of many, the child says
to Zacchæus: Hear, O teacher, the order of the
first letter, and notice here how it has lines, and a
middle stroke crossing those which thou seest
15 common; (lines) brought together; the highest part
supporting them, and again bringing them under one
head; with three points [of intersection]; of the
same kind; principal and subordinate; of equal
length. Thou hast the lines of the A.
20 7. And when the teacher Zacchæus heard the
child speaking such and so great allegories of the
first letter, he was at a great loss about such a
narrative, and about His teaching. And he said to
those that were present: Alas! I, wretch that I am,
25 am at a loss, bringing shame upon myself by having
dragged this child hither. Take him away, then, I
beseech thee, brother Joseph. I cannot endure the
sternness of his look; I cannot make out his meaning
at all. That child does not belong to this earth;

he can tame even fire. Assuredly he was born before *Zacchæus* the creation of the world. What sort of a belly *put to* bore him, what sort of a womb nourished him, I do *Shame* not know. Alas! my friend, he has carried me away; I cannot get at his meaning: thrice wretched ⁵ that I am, I have deceived myself. I made a struggle to have a scholar, and I was found to have a teacher. My mind is filled with shame, my friends, because I, an old man, have been conquered by a child. There is nothing for me but despondency and death on ¹⁰ account of this boy, for I am not able at this hour to look him in the face; and when everybody says that I have been beaten by a little child, what can I say? And how can I give an account of the lines of the first letter that he spoke about? I know not, O my ¹⁵ friends; for I can make neither beginning nor end of him. Therefore, I beseech thee, brother Joseph, take him home. What great thing he is, either god or angel, or what I am to say, I know not.

8. And when the Jews were encouraging *Zac-* ²⁰ *chæus*, the child laughed aloud, and said: Now let thy learning bring forth fruit, and let the blind in heart see. I am here from above, that I may curse them, and call them to the things that are above, as He that sent me on your account has commanded me. ²⁵ And when the child ceased speaking, immediately all were made whole who had fallen under His curse. And no one after that dared to make Him angry, lest he should curse him, and he should be maimed.

Zeno and a Young Man brought to Life 9. And some days after, Jesus was playing in an upper room of a certain house, and one of the children that were playing with Him fell down from the house, and was killed. And, when the other children saw this, they ran away, and Jesus alone stood still. And the parents of the dead child coming, reproached Jesus, and they threatened Him. And Jesus leaped down from the roof, and stood beside the body of the child, and cried with a loud
 10 voice, and said: Zeno—for that was his name—stand up, and tell me; did I throw thee down? And he stood up immediately, and said: Certainly not, my lord; thou didst not throw me down, but hast raised me up. And those that saw this were
 15 struck with astonishment. And the child's parents glorified God on account of the miracle that had happened, and adored Jesus.

10. A few days after, a young man was splitting wood in the corner, and the axe came down and cut
 20 the sole of his foot in two, and he died from loss of blood. And there was a great commotion, and people ran together, and the child Jesus ran there too. And he pressed through the crowd, and laid hold of the young man's wounded foot, and he was
 25 cured immediately. And He said to the young man: Rise up now, split the wood, and remember me. And the crowd seeing what had happened, adored the child, saying: Truly the Spirit of God dwells in this child.

11. And when He was six years old, His mother *Sundry* gave Him a pitcher, and sent Him to draw water, *Miracles* and bring it into the house. But He struck against some one in the crowd, and the pitcher was broken. And Jesus unfolded the cloak which He had on, and filled it with water, and carried it to His mother. ⁵ And His mother, seeing the miracle that had happened, kissed Him, and kept within herself the mysteries which she had seen Him doing.

12. And again in seed-time the child went out ¹⁰ with His father to sow corn in their land. And while His father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one grain of corn. And when He had reaped it, and threshed it, He made a hundred kors; and calling all the poor of the village to the threshing- ¹⁵ floor, He gave them the corn, and Joseph took away what was left of the corn. And He was eight years old when He did this miracle.

13. And His father was a carpenter, and at that time made ploughs and yokes. And a certain rich ²⁰ man ordered him to make him a couch. And one of what is called the cross pieces being too short, they did not know what to do. The child Jesus said to His father Joseph: Put down the two pieces of wood, and make them even in the middle. And ²⁵ Joseph did as the child said to him. And Jesus stood at the other end, and took hold of the shorter piece of wood, and stretched it, and made it equal to the other. And His father Joseph saw it, and

Jesus's wondered, and embraced the child, and kissed Him,
Second saying : Blessed am I, because God has given me
Teacher this child.

14. And Joseph, seeing that the child was vigorous
5 in mind and body, again resolved that He should not
remain ignorant of the letters, and took Him away,
and handed Him over to another teacher. And the
teacher said to Joseph : I shall first teach him the
Greek letters, and then the Hebrew. For the
10 teacher was aware of the trial that had been made
of the child, and was afraid of Him. Nevertheless
he wrote out the alphabet, and gave Him all his
attention for a long time, and He made him no
answer. And Jesus said to him : If thou art really
15 a teacher, and art well acquainted with the letters,
tell me the power of the Alpha, and I will tell thee
the power of the Beta. And the teacher was en-
raged at this, and struck Him on the head. And
the child, being in pain, cursed him ; and immedi-
20 ately he swooned away, and fell to the ground on his
face. And the child returned to Joseph's house ;
and Joseph was grieved, and gave orders to His
mother, saying : Do not let him go outside of the
door, because those that make him angry die.
- 25 15. And after some time, another master again, a
genuine friend of Joseph, said to him : Bring the
child to my school ; perhaps I shall be able to flatter
him into learning his letters. And Joseph said : If
thou hast the courage, brother, take him with thee.

And he took Him with him in fear and great agony ; *Jesus's* but the child went along pleasantly. And going *Third* boldly into the school, He found a book lying on the *Teacher* reading-desk ; and taking it, He read not the letters that were in it, but opening His mouth, He spoke by 5 the Holy Spirit, and taught the law to those that were standing round. And a great crowd having come together, stood by and heard Him, and wondered at the ripeness of His teaching, and the readiness of His words, and that He, child as He 10 was, spoke in such a way. And Joseph hearing of it, was afraid, and ran to the school, in doubt lest this master too should be without experience. And the master said to Joseph : Know, brother, that I have taken the child as a scholar, and he is full of 15 much grace and wisdom ; but I beseech thee, brother, take him home. And when the child heard this, He laughed at him directly, and said : Since thou hast spoken aright, and witnessed aright, for thy sake he also that was struck down shall be 20 cured. And immediately the other master was cured. And Joseph took the child, and went away home.

16. And Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and bring it home, and the child Jesus also 25 followed him. And when James was gathering the fagots, a viper bit James' hand. And when he was racked [with pain], and at the point of death, Jesus came near and blew upon the bite ; and the pain

Other ceased directly, and the beast burst, and instantly
Miracles of James remained safe and sound.

raising the 17. And after this the infant of one of Joseph's

Dead neighbours fell sick and died, and its mother wept
 5 sore. And Jesus heard that there was great lamentation and commotion, and ran in haste, and found the child dead, and touched his breast, and said: I say to thee, child, be not dead, but live, and be with thy mother. And directly it looked up and laughed.

10 And he said to the woman: Take it, and give it milk, and remember me. And seeing this, the crowd that was standing by wondered, and said: Truly this child was either God or an angel of God, for every word of his is a certain fact. And Jesus
 15 went out thence, playing with the other children.

18. And some time after there occurred a great commotion while a house was building, and Jesus stood up and went away to the place. And seeing a man lying dead, He took him by the hand, and
 20 said: Man, I say to thee, arise, and go on with thy work. And directly he rose up, and adored Him. And seeing this, the crowd wondered, and said: This child is from heaven, for he has saved many souls from death, and he continues to save during all
 25 his life.

19. And when He was twelve years old His parents went as usual to Jerusalem to the feast of the passover with their fellow-travellers. And after the passover they were coming home again. And while

they were coming home, the child Jesus went back *Jesus and*
to Jerusalem. And His parents thought that he was *the Doctors*
in the company. And having gone one day's journey,
they sought for Him among their relations; and
not finding Him, they were in great grief, and turned 5
back to the city seeking for Him. And after the
third day they found Him in the temple, sitting in
the midst of the teachers, both hearing the law and
asking them questions. And they were all attending
to Him, and wondering that He, being a child, was 10
shutting the mouths of the elders and teachers of the
people, explaining the main points of the law and the
parables of the prophets. And his mother Mary
coming up, said to Him: Why hast thou done this
to us, child? Behold, we have been seeking for 15
thee in great trouble. And Jesus said to them:
Why do you seek me? Do you not know that I
must be about my Father's business? And the
scribes and the Pharisees said: Art thou the mother
of this child? And she said: I am. And they 20
said to her: Blessed art thou among women, for
God hath blessed the fruit of thy womb; for such
glory, and such virtue and wisdom, we have neither
seen nor heard ever. And Jesus rose up, and followed
His mother, and was subject to His parents. And His 25
mother observed all these things that had happened.
And Jesus advanced in wisdom, and stature, and grace.
To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew

(*Chapters 17-25 : see Introduction.*)

*Jesus and
the
Dragons* **A**ND when Herod saw that he had been made sport of by the Magi, his heart swelled with rage, and he sent through all the roads, wishing to seize them and put them to death. But when he could
5 not find them at all, he sent anew to Bethlehem and all its borders, and slew all the male children whom he found of two years old and under, according to the time that he had ascertained from the Magi.

Now the day before this was done Joseph was
10 warned in his sleep by the angel of the Lord, who said to him : Take Mary and the child, and go into Egypt by the way of the desert. And Joseph went according to the saying of the angel.

18. And having come to a certain cave, and wishing
15 to rest in it, the blessed Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her bosom. And there were with Joseph three boys, and with Mary a girl, going on the journey along with them. And, lo, suddenly there came forth from the cave
20 many dragons ; and when the children saw them, they cried out in great terror. Then Jesus went down from the bosom of His mother, and stood on

His feet before the dragons; and they adored Jesus, *Miraculous*
 and thereafter retired. Then was fulfilled that which *Submission*
 was said by David the prophet, saying: Praise the *of Wild*
 Lord from the earth, ye dragons; ye dragons, and *Beasts*
 all ye deeps. And the young child Jesus, walking 5
 before them, commanded them to hurt no man. But
 Mary and Joseph were very much afraid lest the
 child should be hurt by the dragons. And Jesus
 said to them: Do not be afraid, and do not consider
 me to be a little child; for I am and always have 10
 been perfect; and all the beasts of the forest must
 needs be tame before me.

19. Lions and panthers adored Him likewise, and
 accompanied them in the desert. Wherever Joseph
 and the blessed Mary went, they went before them 15
 showing them the way, and bowing their heads; and
 showing their submission by wagging their tails, they
 adored Him with great reverence. Now at first,
 when Mary saw the lions and the panthers, and
 various kinds of wild beasts, coming about them, she 20
 was very much afraid. But the infant Jesus looked
 into her face with a joyful countenance, and said:
 Be not afraid, mother; for they come not to do thee
 harm, but they make haste to serve both thee and me.
 With these words He drove all fear from her heart. 25
 And the lions kept walking with them, and with the
 oxen, and the asses, and the beasts of burden which
 carried their baggage, and did not hurt a single one
 of them, though they kept beside them; but they

Miracle of the Palm were tame among the sheep and the rams which they had brought with them from Judea, and which they *Tree* had with them. They walked among wolves, and feared nothing; and no one of them was hurt by
5 another. Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet: Wolves shall feed with lambs; the lion and the ox shall eat straw together. There were together two oxen drawing a waggon with provision for the journey, and the lions directed them in their
20 path.

20. And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to
15 Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit,
20 and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want
25 of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my

mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these *Miracle of*
 words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of *the Palm*
 the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, *Tree*
 with which they were all refreshed. And after they
 had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent down, 5
 waiting the order to rise from Him who had com-
 manded it to stoop. Then Jesus said to it: Raise
 thyself, O palm tree, and be strong, and be the com-
 panion of my trees, which are in the paradise of my
 Father; and open from thy roots a vein of water 10
 which has been hid in the earth, and let the waters
 flow, so that we may be satisfied from thee. And it
 rose up immediately, and at its root there began to
 come forth a spring of water exceedingly clear and
 cool and sparkling. And when they saw the spring 15
 of water, they rejoiced with great joy, and were
 satisfied, themselves and all their cattle and their
 beasts. Wherefore they gave thanks to God.

21. And on the day after, when they were setting
 out thence, and in the hour in which they began their 20
 journey, Jesus turned to the palm, and said: This
 privilege I give thee, O palm tree, that one of thy
 branches be carried away by my angels, and planted
 in the paradise of my Father. And this blessing I
 will confer upon thee, that it shall be said of all who 25
 conquer in any contest, You have attained the palm
 of victory. And while He was thus speaking, behold,
 an angel of the Lord appeared, and stood upon the
 palm tree; and taking off one of its branches, flew to

The heaven with the branch in his hand. And when they *Distance of* saw this, they fell on their faces, and became as it *the Journey* were dead. And Jesus said to them : Why are your *shortened* hearts possessed with fear? Do you not know that
5 this palm, which I have caused to be transferred to paradise, shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of delights, as it has been prepared for us in this place of the wilderness? And they were filled with joy ; and being strengthened, they all rose up.

10 22. After this, while they were going on their journey, Joseph said to Jesus : Lord, it is a boiling heat ; if it please Thee, let us go by the sea-shore, that we may be able to rest in the cities on the coast. Jesus said to him : Fear not, Joseph ; I will shorten the way
15 for you, so that what you would have taken thirty days to go over, you shall accomplish in this one day. And while they were thus speaking, behold, they looked forward, and began to see the mountains and cities of Egypt.

20 And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of Hermopolis, and entered into a certain city of Egypt which is called Sotinen ; and because they knew no one there from whom they could ask hospitality, they went into a temple which was called
25 the Capitol of Egypt. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols, to each of which on its own day divine honours and sacred rites were paid. For the Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told

them how many sacrifices were offered each day, *Obeisance* according to the honour in which the god was held. *of the*

23. And it came to pass, when the most blessed *Idols* Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that 5 all of them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces; and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled that which was said by the prophet Isaiah: Behold, the Lord will come upon a swift cloud, and will enter Egypt, 10 and all the handiwork of the Egyptians shall be moved at His presence.

24. Then Affrodosius, that governor of the city, when news of this was brought to him, went to the temple with all his army. And the priests of the 15 temple, when they saw Affrodosius with all his army coming into the temple, thought that he was making haste only to see vengeance taken on those on whose account the gods had fallen down. But when he came into the temple, and saw all the gods lying 20 prostrate on their faces, he went up to the blessed Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and adored Him, and said to all his army and all his friends: Unless this were the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before 25 Him: nor would they be lying prostrate in His presence: wherefore they silently confess that He is their Lord. Unless we, therefore, take care to do what we have seen our gods doing, we may run the

The People risk of His anger, and all come to destruction, even of *Sotinen* as it happened to Pharaoh king of the Egyptians, who, *converted* not believing in powers so mighty, was drowned in the sea, with all his army. Then all the people of
5 that same city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.

25. After no long time the angel said to Joseph : Return to the land of Judah, for they are dead who sought the child's life.

The Gospel of Nicodemus

(Memorials of our Lord Jesus Christ, done in the time of Pontius Pilate.)

PROLOGUE

10 **I** ANANIAS, of the proprætor's body-guard, being learned in the law, knowing our Lord Jesus Christ from the Holy Scriptures, coming to Him by faith, and counted worthy of the holy baptism, searching also the memorials written at that
15 time of what was done in the case of our Lord Jesus Christ, which the Jews had laid up in the time of Pontius Pilate, found these memorials written in Hebrew, and by the favour of God have translated

them into Greek for the information of all who call *Prologue*
upon the name of our Master Jesus Christ, in the *of Ananias*
seventeenth year of the reign of our lord Flavius
Theodosius, and the sixth of Flavius Valentinianus,
in the ninth indiction. 5

All ye, therefore, who read and transfer into other
books, remember me, and pray for me, that God
may be merciful to me, and pardon my sins which I
have sinned against Him.

Peace be to those who read, and to those who 10
hear and to their households. Amen.



In the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius
Cæsar, emperor of the Romans, and Herod being
king of Galilee, in the nineteenth year of his rule, on
the eighth day before the Kalends of April, which is 15
the twenty-fifth of March, in the consulship of Rufus
and Rubellio, in the fourth year of the two hundred
and second Olympiad, Joseph Caiaphas being high
priest of the Jews.

The account that Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew, 20
after the cross and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ,
the Saviour God, and left to those that came after
him, is as follows:—

1. Having called a council, the high priests and
scribes Annas and Caiaphas and Semes and Dathaes, 25
and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Nephthalim, Alex-
ander and Jaiirus, and the rest of the Jews, came to
Pilate accusing Jesus about many things, saying: We

Jesus know this man to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, *accused by* born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of *the High* God, and a king; moreover, he profanes the Sabbath, *Priests'* and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers.

Council Pilate says: And what are the things which he does, to show that he wishes to do away with it? The Jews say: We have a law not to cure any one on the Sabbath; but this man has on the Sabbath cured the lame and the crooked, the withered and the
10 blind and the paralytic, the dumb and the demoniac, by evil practices. Pilate says to them: What evil practices? They say to him: He is a magician, and by Beelzebub prince of the demons he casts out the demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says
15 to them: This is not casting out the demons by an unclean spirit, but by the god Esculapius.

The Jews say to Pilate: We entreat your high-ness that he stand at thy tribunal, and be heard. And Pilate having called them, says: Tell me how
20 I, being a procurator, can try a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says that he is. And Pilate having called the runner, says to him: Let Jesus be brought in with respect. And the runner going out, and recognising
25 Him, adored Him, and took his cloak into his hand, and spread it on the ground, and says to Him: My lord, walk on this, and come in, for the procurator calls thee. And the Jews seeing what the runner had done, cried out against Pilate, saying: Why

hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner, and *Adoration* not by a crier? for assuredly the runner, when he *of the* saw him, adored him, and spread his doublet on the *Runner* ground, and made him walk like a king.

And Pilate having called the runner, says to him : 5
Why hast thou done this, and spread out thy cloak upon the earth, and made Jesus walk upon it? The runner says to him : My lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the sons of the Hebrews 10 held branches in their hands, and shouted ; and others spread their clothes under him, saying, Save now, thou who art in the highest : blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The Jews cry out, and say to the runner : The 15 sons of the Hebrews shouted in Hebrew ; whence then hast thou the Greek? The runner says to them : I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it they are shouting in Hebrew? And he interpreted it for me. Pilate says to them : And what did they 20 shout in Hebrew? The Jews say to him : *Hosanna membronne baruchamma adonai*. Pilate says to them : And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted? The Jews say to him : Save now in the highest ; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate 25 says to them : If you bear witness to the words spoken by the children, in what has the runner done wrong? And they were silent. And the procurator says to the runner : Go out, and bring him in

Adoration what way thou wilt. And the runner going out, did
of the in the same manner as before, and says to Jesus:
Standards My lord, come in; the procurator calleth thee.

And Jesus going in, and the standard-bearers
5 holding their standards, the tops of the standards
were bent down, and adored Jesus. And the Jews
seeing the bearing of the standards, how they were
bent down and adored Jesus, cried out vehemently
against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the
10 Jews: Do you not wonder how the tops of the
standards were bent down, and adored Jesus? The
Jews say to Pilate: We saw how the standard-
bearers bent them down, and adored him. And the
procurator having called the standard-bearers, says to
15 them: Why have you done this? They say to
Pilate: We are Greeks and temple-slaves, and how
could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were
holding them up, the tops bent down of their own
accord, and adored him.

20 Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue and the
elders of the people: Do you choose for yourselves
men strong and powerful, and let them hold up the
standards, and let us see whether they will bend down
with them. And the elders of the Jews picked up
25 twelve men powerful and strong, and made them
hold up the standards six by six; and they were
placed in front of the procurator's tribunal. And
Pilate says to the runner: Take him outside of the
prætorium, and bring him in again in whatever way

may please thee. And Jesus and the runner went *Message* out of the prætorium. And Pilate, summoning those *from* who had formerly held up the standards, says to them : *Pilate's* I have sworn by the health of Cæsar, that if the *Wife* standards do not bend down when Jesus comes in, I 5 will cut off your heads. And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus to walk on his cloak. And He walked on it, and went in. And as He went in, 10 the standards were again bent down, and adored Jesus.

2. And Pilate seeing this, was afraid, and sought to go away from the tribunal; but when he was still thinking of going away, his wife sent to him, saying : 15 Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on his account this night. And Pilate, summoning the Jews, says to them : You know that my wife is a worshipper of God, and prefers to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you. 20 They say to him : Yes; we know. Pilate says to them : Behold, my wife has sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, say unto Pilate : Did we not 25 tell thee that he was a sorcerer? behold, he has sent a dream to thy wife.

And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to Him : What do these witness against thee? Sayest thou

Testimony nothing? And Jesus said: Unless they had the *in favour* power, they would say nothing; for everyone has the *of Jesus* power of his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They shall see to it.

5 And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus: What shall we see? first, that thou wast born of fornication; secondly, that thy birth in Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary
10 fled into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, pious men of the Jews, say: We deny that he was born of fornication; for we know that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was
15 not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow-countrymen of yours say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: All the multitude of us cry out
20 that he was born of fornication, and are not believed; these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They are by birth children of the Greeks, and have now become Jews.
25 And those that said that He was not born of fornication, viz.—Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippas, and Judas—say: We are not proselytes, but are children of the Jews, and speak of the truth;

for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and *Pilate*
Mary. *desires to*

And Pilate, calling these twelve men who said that *save Jesus*
He was not born of fornication, says to them : I adjure
you by the health of Cæsar, to tell me whether it be s
true that you say, that he was not born of fornication.
They say to Pilate : We have a law against taking
oaths, because it is a sin ; but they will swear by the
health of Cæsar, that it is not as we have said, and
we are liable to death. Pilate says to Annas and 10
Caiaphas : Have you nothing to answer to this ?
Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate : These twelve
are believed when they say that he was not born of
fornication ; all the multitude of us cry out that he
was born of fornication, and that he is a sorcerer, and 15
he says that he is the Son of God and a king, and
we are not believed.

And Pilate orders all the multitude to go out,
except the twelve men who said that he was not
born of fornication, and he ordered Jesus to be 20
separated from them. And Pilate says to them :
For what reason do they wish to put him to death ?
They say to him : They are angry because he cures
on the Sabbath. Pilate says : For a good work do
they wish to put him to death ? They say to him : 25
Yes.

3. And Pilate, filled with rage, went outside of the
prætorium, and said to them : I take the sun to
witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews

Pilate answered and said to the procurator : Unless this man *questions* were an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him *Jesus* to thee. And *Pilate* said, Do you take him, and judge him according to your law. The Jews said s to *Pilate* : It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. *Pilate* said : Has God said that you are not to put to death, but that I am ?

And *Pilate* went again into the prætorium, and spoke to *Jesus* privately, and said to Him : Art thou 10 the king of the Jews ? *Jesus* answered *Pilate* : Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me ? *Pilate* answered *Jesus* : Am I also a Jew ? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done ? *Jesus* 15 answered : My kingdom is not of this world ; for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews : but now my kingdom is not from thence. *Pilate* said to Him : Art thou then a king ? *Jesus* 20 answered him : Thou sayest that I am a king. Because for this have I been born, and have I come, in order that every one who is of the truth might hear my voice. *Pilate* says to Him : What is Truth ? *Jesus* says to him : Truth is from heaven. *Pilate* 25 says : Is truth not upon earth ? *Jesus* says to *Pilate* : Thou seest how those who speak the truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth.

4. And leaving *Jesus* within the prætorium, *Pilate* went out to the Jews, and said to them : I find no

fault in him. The Jews say to him : He said, I can *Jesus* destroy this temple, and in three days build it. *accused of* Pilate says : What temple? The Jews say : The *Blasphemy* one that Solomon built in forty-six years, and this man speaks of pulling it down and building it in three 5 days. Pilate says to them : I am innocent of the blood of this just man. See you to it. The Jews say : His blood be upon us, and upon our children.

And Pilate having summoned the elders and priests and Levites, said to them privately : Do not act 10 thus, because no charge that you bring against him is worthy of death ; for your charge is about curing and Sabbath profanation. The elders and the priests and the Levites say : If any one speak evil against Cæsar, is he worthy of death or not? Pilate says : 15 He is worthy of death. The Jews say to Pilate : If any one speak evil against Cæsar, he is worthy of death ; but this man has spoken evil against God.

And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the prætorium ; and summoning Jesus, he says to 20 Him : What shall I do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate : As it has been given to thee. Pilate says : How given? Jesus says : Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and resurrection. And the Jews noticing this, and hearing 25 it, say to Pilate : What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy? Pilate says to the Jews : If these words be blasphemous, do you take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue,

Advice of and judge him according to your law. The Jews
Nicodemus say to Pilate: Our law bears that a man who wrongs
his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty save one;
but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with
5 stones.

Pilate says to them: Do you take him, and
punish him in whatever way you please. The Jews
say to Pilate: We wish that he be crucified.
Pilate says: He is not deserving of crucifixion.
10 And the procurator, looking round upon the
crowds of the Jews standing by, sees many of the
Jews weeping, and says: All the multitude do not
wish him to die. The elders of the Jews say: For
this reason all the multitude of us have come, that he
15 should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should
he die? The Jews say: Because he called himself
Son of God, and King.

5. And one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the
procurator, and said: I beseech your honour, let me
20 say a few words. Pilate says: Say on. Nicodemus
says: I said to the elders and the priests and
Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the
synagogue, What do you seek to do with this man?
This man does many miracles and strange things,
25 which no one has done or will do. Let him go, and
do not wish any evil against him. If the miracles
which he does are of God, they will stand; but if
of man, they will come to nothing. For assuredly
Moses, being sent by God into Egypt, did many

miracles, which the Lord commanded him to do *Testimony* before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And there were *of those* there Jannes and Jambres, servants of Pharaoh, and *Jesus* they also did not a few of the miracles which Moses *healed* did; and the Egyptians took them to be gods—this 5 Jannes and this Jambres. But, since the miracles which they did were not of God, both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. And now release this man, for he is not deserving of death. 10

The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and therefore thou defendest him. Nicodemus says to them: Perhaps, too, the procurator has become his disciple, because he defends him. Has the emperor not appointed him to this 15 place of dignity? And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash your teeth against him when you hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth and 20 his portion. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; may I receive it, as you have said.

6. One of the Jews, stepping up, asked leave of the procurator to say a word. The procurator says: If thou wishest to say anything, say on. And the Jew 25 said: Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs, and many lying ill of various diseases, were cured by him. And some young men, taking pity on me,

Testimony carried me, bed and all, and took me to him. And *of those* when Jesus saw me, he had compassion on me, and *Jesus* said to me : Take up thy couch and walk. And I *healed* took up my couch, and walked. The Jews say to
5 Pilate : Ask him on what day it was that he was cured. He that had been cured says : On a Sabbath. The Jews say : Is not this the very thing that we said, that on a Sabbath he cures and casts out demons ?

10 And another Jew stepped up and said : I was born blind ; I heard sounds, but saw not a face. And as Jesus passed by, I cried out with a loud voice, Pity me, O son of David. And he pitied me, and put his hands upon my eyes, and I instantly received my
15 sight. And another Jew stepped up and said : I was crooked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said : I was a leper, and he cured me with a word.

7. And a woman cried out from a distance, and said :
20 I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the issue of blood which I had had for twelve years was stopped. The Jews say : We have a law, that a woman's evidence is not to be received.

25 8. And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out saying : This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to them who said that the demons were subject to him : Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him ? They

say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said: He raised Lazarus from the tomb after he had been dead four days. And the procurator trembled, and said to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to pour out innocent blood? *Pilate again tries to save Jesus*

9. And having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men that said He was not born of fornication, he says to them: What shall I do, because there is an insurrection among the people? They say to him: We know not; let them see to it. Again Pilate, having summoned all the multitude of the Jews, says: You know that it is customary, at the feast of unleavened bread, to release one prisoner to you. I have one condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Barabbas, and this man standing in your presence, Jesus, in whom I find no fault. Which of them do you wish me to release to you? And they cry out: Barabbas. Pilate says: What, then, shall we do to Jesus who is called Christ? The Jews say: Let him be crucified. And others said: Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, because he called himself Son of God and king. You wish, then, this man to be king, and not Cæsar?

And Pilate, in a rage, says to the Jews: Always has your nation been rebellious, and you always speak against your benefactors. The Jews say: What benefactors? He says to them: Your God led you out of the land of Egypt from bitter slavery, and brought you safe through the sea as through dry land, and in

His Blood the desert fed you with manna, and gave you quails,
be upon us and quenched your thirst with water from a rock, and
and our gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked
Children your God to anger, and sought a molten calf. And
5 you exasperated your God, and he sought to slay you.
And Moses prayed for you, and you were not put to
death. And now you charge me with hating the
emperor.

And rising up from the tribunal, he sought to go
10 out. And the Jews cry out, and say: We know
that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For assuredly
the Magi brought gifts to him as to a king. And
when Herod heard from the Magi that a king had
been born, he sought to slay him; and his father
15 Joseph, knowing this, took him and his mother, and
they fled into Egypt. And Herod hearing of it,
destroyed the children of the Hebrews that had been
born in Bethlehem.

And when Pilate heard these words, he was
20 afraid; and ordering the crowd to keep silence,
because they were crying out, he says to them: So
this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say:
Yes, it is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his
hands in the face of the sun, saying: I am innocent
25 of the blood of this just man; see you to it. Again
the Jews cry out: His blood be upon us, and upon
our children.

Then Pilate ordered the curtain of the tribunal
where he was sitting to be drawn, and says to Jesus:

Thy nation has charged thee with being a king. On *Crucifixion* this account I sentence thee, first to be scourged, of *Jesus* according to the enactment of venerable kings, and then to be fastened on the cross in the garden where thou wast seized. And let Dysmas and Gestas, the 5 two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

10. And Jesus went forth out of the prætorium, and the two malefactors with Him. And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of His clothes, and girded Him with a towel, and put a crown of 10 thorns on Him round His head. And they crucified Him; and at the same time also they hung up the two malefactors along with Him. And Jesus said : Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted His clothes among 15 them; and the people stood looking at Him. And the chief priests, and the rulers with them, mocked Him, saying : He saved others; let him save himself. If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers made sport of 20 Him, coming near and offering Him vinegar mixed with gall, and said : Thou art the king of the Jews; save thyself.

And Pilate, after the sentence, ordered the charge made against Him to be inscribed as a superscription 25 in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, according to what the Jews had said : He is king of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors hanging up spoke to Him, saying : If thou be the Christ, save thyself and

Portents us. And Dysmas answering, reprov'd him, saying :
at the Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the
Crucifixion same condemnation? And we indeed justly, for we
receive the fit punishment of our deeds; but this
5 man has done no evil. And he said to Jesus :
Remember me, Lord, in Thy kingdom. And Jesus
said to him : Amen, amen; I say to thee, To-day
shalt thou be with me in Paradise.

11. And it was about the sixth hour, and there
10 was darkness over the earth until the ninth hour, the
sun being darkened; and the curtain of the temple was
split in the middle. And crying out with a loud
voice, Jesus said : Father, *baddach ephkid ruel*, which
is, interpreted : Into Thy hands I commit my spirit.
15 And having said this, He gave up the ghost. And
the centurion, seeing what had happened, glorified
God, and said : This was a just man. And all the
crowds that were present at this spectacle, when they
saw what had happened, beat their breasts and went
20 away.

And the centurion reported what had happened to
the procurator. And when the procurator and his
wife heard it, they were exceedingly grieved, and
neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for
25 the Jews, and said to them : Have you seen what
has happened? And they say : There has been an
eclipse of the sun in the usual way.

And His acquaintances were standing at a distance,
and the women who came with Him from Galilee,

seeing these things. And a man named Joseph, a *Joseph* councillor from the city of Arimathea, who also *receives* waited for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate, and *the Body* begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down, *of Jesus* and wrapped it in clean linen, and placed it in a tomb ⁵ hewn out of the rock, in which no one had ever lain.

12. And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought him and the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus, and many others who had stepped up ¹⁰ before Pilate and declared his good works. And of all these that were hid, Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them: How have you come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: How hast ¹⁵ thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen. And likewise Joseph also stepped out and said to them: Why are you angry against me because I begged the ²⁰ body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the tomb. And you have acted not well against the just man, because you have not repented of crucifying him, but also have ²⁵ pierced him with a spear. And the Jews seized Joseph, and ordered him to be secured until the first day of the week, and said to him: Know that the time does not allow us to do anything against thee,

Joseph because the Sabbath is dawning ; and know that thou *imprisoned* shalt not be deemed worthy of burial, but we shall *by the* give thy flesh to the birds of the air. Joseph says to *Sanhedrim* them : These are the words of the arrogant Goliath, 5 who reproached the living God and holy David.

For God has said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. And now he that is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, has taken water, and washed his hands in the face of 10 the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man ; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I am afraid lest the wrath of God come upon you, and upon your children, as you have said. 15 And the Jews, hearing these words, were embittered in their souls, and seized Joseph, and locked him into a room where there was no window ; and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

20 And on the Sabbath, the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And rising up early, all the multitude in the synagogue consulted by what death they should 25 slay him. And when the Sanhedrim was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity. And having opened the door, they found him not. And all the people were surprised, and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken, and

because Caiaphas had the key. And they no longer *Intelligence* dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before *received of* Pilate in Jesus' behalf. *the Resur-*

13. And while they were still sitting in the syna- *rection*
gogue, and wondering about Joseph, there come some 5
of the guard whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to
guard the tomb of Jesus, that His disciples might not
come and steal Him. And they reported to the rulers
of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, what
had happened : how there had been a great earth- 10
quake ; and we saw an angel coming down from
heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth
of the tomb, and sat upon it ; and he shone like snow,
and like lightning. And we were very much afraid,
and lay like dead men ; and we heard the voice of 15
the angel saying to the women who remained beside
the tomb, Be not afraid, for I know that you seek
Jesus who was crucified. He is not here : He is
risen, as He said. Come, see the place where the
Lord lay : and go quickly, and tell His disciples 20
that He is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

The Jews say : To what women did he speak ?
The men of the guard say : We do not know who
they were. The Jews say : At what time was this ?
The men of the guard say : At midnight. The 25
Jews say : And wherefore did you not lay hold of
them ? The men of the guard say : We were like
dead men from fear, not expecting to see the light
of day, and how could we lay hold of them ? The

The Jews Jews say: As the Lord liveth, we do not believe *bribe the* you. The men of the guard say to the Jews: You *Soldiers* have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed; and how can you believe us?

5 And assuredly you have done well to swear that the Lord liveth, for indeed He does live. Again the men of the guard say: We have heard that you have locked up the man that begged the body of Jesus, and put a seal on the door; and that you have
10 opened it, and not found him. Do you then give us the man whom you were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph has gone away to his own city. The men of the guard say to the Jews: And Jesus has risen, as we heard from the
15 angel, and is in Galilee.

And when the Jews heard these words, they were very much afraid, and said: We must take care lest this story be heard, and all incline to Jesus. And the Jews called a council, and paid down a consider-
20 able sum of money, and gave it to the soldiers, saying: Say, while we slept, his disciples came by night and stole him; and if this come to the ears of the procurator, we shall persuade him, and keep you out of trouble. And they took it, and said as they had
25 been instructed.

14. And Phinees a priest, and Adas a teacher, and Haggai a Levite, came down from Galilee to Jerusalem, and said to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his

disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch ; and *Jesus seen* he said to his disciples, Go into all the world, and *on Mount* preach to every creature : he that believeth and is *Mamilch* baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend ⁵ those who have believed : in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall by no means hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well. And while Jesus was ¹⁰ speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

The elders and the priests and Levites say : Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to Him whether you have heard and seen those things of ¹⁵ which you have given us an account. And those who had given the account said : As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the ²⁰ Levites say to them : Have you come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God ? And they say : To offer prayer to God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them : If you have come to offer prayer to God, why then have ²⁵ you told these idle tales in the presence of all the people ? Says Phinees the priest, and Adas the teacher, and Haggai the Levite, to the rulers of the synagogues, and the priests and the Levites : If what

Perplexity we have said and seen be sinful, behold, we are
over the before you; do to us as seems good in your eyes.
Resur- And they took the law, and made them swear upon
rection it, not to give any more an account of these matters
5 to any one. And they gave them to eat and drink,
and sent them out of the city, having given them also
money, and three men with them; and they sent
them away to Galilee.

And these men having gone into Galilee, the chief
10 priests, and the rulers of the synagogue, and the
elders, came together into the synagogue, and locked
the door, and lamented with a great lamentation,
saying: Is this a miracle that has happened in Israel?
And Annas and Caiaphas said: Why are you so
15 much moved? Why do you weep? Do you not
know that his disciples have given a sum of gold to
the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them
to say that an angel came down and rolled away
the stone from the door of the tomb? And the
20 priests and the elders said: Be it that his disciples
have stolen his body; how is it that the life has come
into his body, and that he is going about in Galilee?
And they being unable to give an answer to these
things, said, after great hesitation: It is not lawful
25 for us to believe the uncircumcised.

15. And Nicodemus stood up, and stood before
the Sanhedrim, saying: You say well; you are not
ignorant, you people of the Lord, of these men that
come down from Galilee, that they fear God, and

are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of *Advice of*
 peace; and they have declared with an oath, We *Nicodemus*
 saw Jesus upon the mountain Mamilch with his
 disciples, and he taught what we heard from him,
 and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one 5
 asked them in what form he went up. For assuredly,
 as the book of the Holy Scriptures taught us, Helias
 also was taken up into heaven, and Elissæus cried out
 with a loud voice, and Helias threw his sheepskin
 upon Elissæus, and Elissæus threw his sheepskin upon 10
 the Jordan, and crossed, and came into Jericho.
 And the children of the prophets met him, and said,
 O Elissæus, where is thy master Helias? And he
 said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they
 said to Elissæus, Has not a spirit seized him, and 15
 thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us
 take our servants with us, and seek him. And they
 persuaded Elissæus, and he went away with them.
 And they sought him three days, and did not find
 him; and they knew that he had been taken up. 20
 And now listen to me, and let us send into every
 district of Israel, and see lest perchance Christ has
 been taken up by a spirit, and thrown upon one of
 the mountains. And this proposal pleased all. And
 they sent into every district of Israel, and sought 25
 Jesus, and did not find Him; but they found Joseph
 in Arimathea, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

And they reported to the elders, and the priests,
 and the Levites: We have gone round to every

Joseph of district of Israel, and have not found Jesus; but *Arimathea* Joseph we have found in Arimathea. And hearing *found* about Joseph, they were glad, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, 5 and the priests and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, took a piece of paper, and wrote to Joseph as follows :

Peace to thee! We know that we have sinned 10 against God, and against thee; and we have prayed to the God of Israel, that thou shouldst deign to come to thy fathers, and to thy children, because we have all been grieved. For having opened the door, we did not find thee. And we know that we have 15 counselled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord has defended thee, and the Lord Himself has scattered to the winds our counsel against thee, O honourable father Joseph.

And they chose from all Israel seven men, friends 20 of Joseph, whom also Joseph himself was acquainted with; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, say to them: Take notice: if, after receiving our letter, he read it, know that he will come with you to us; but if he do not read it, 25 know that he is ill-disposed towards us. And having saluted him in peace, return to us. And having blessed the men, they dismissed them. And the men came to Joseph, and did reverence to him, and said to him: Peace to thee! And he said: Peace

to you, and to all the people of Israel ! And they *Joseph* gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph having *returns to* received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and *Jerusalem* blessed God, and said : Blessed be the Lord God, who has delivered Israel, that they should not shed 5 innocent blood ; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out His angel, and covered me under His wings. And he set a table for them ; and they ate and drank, and slept there.

And they rose up early, and prayed. And 10 Joseph saddled his ass, and set out with the men ; and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph, and cried out : Peace to thee in thy coming in ! And he said to all the people : Peace to you ! and he kissed them. And the people 15 prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders, and the priests, and the Levites to his house. And they rejoiced, eating 20 and drinking with Joseph ; and after singing hymns, each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the following day, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests 25 and the Levites went early to the house of Nicodemus ; and Nicodemus met them, and said : Peace to you ! And they said : Peace to thee, and to Joseph, and to all thy house, and to all the house of Joseph !

Joseph And he brought them into his house. And all the
before the Sanhedrim sat down, and Joseph sat down between
Sanhedrim Annas and Caiaphas; and no one dared to say a
word to him. And Joseph said: Why have you
5 called me? And they signalled to Nicodemus to
speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his
mouth, said to Joseph: Father, thou knowest that
the honourable teachers, and the priests and the
Levites, seek to learn a word from thee. And
10 Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas
having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying:
Give glory to the God of Israel, and give Him con-
fession; for Achar being made to swear by the
prophet Jesus, did not forswear himself, but declared
15 unto him all, and did not hide a word from him.
Do thou also accordingly not hide from us to the
extent of a word. And Joseph said: I shall not
hide from you one word. And they said to him:
With grief were we grieved because thou didst beg
20 the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay
it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured
thee in a room where there was no window; and we
put locks and seals upon the doors, and guards kept
watching where thou wast locked in. And on the
first day of the week we opened, and found thee not,
25 and were grieved exceedingly; and astonishment fell
upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday.
And now relate to us what has happened to thee.

And Joseph said: On the preparation, about the

tenth hour, you locked me up, and I remained all the *Joseph*
 Sabbath. And at midnight, as I was standing and *relates the*
 praying, the room where you locked me in was hung *Facts of his*
 up by the four corners, and I saw a light like lightning *Deliver-*
 into my eyes. And I was afraid, and fell to the *ance*
 ground. And some one took me by the hand, and
 removed me from the place where I had fallen; and
 moisture of water was poured from my head even to
 my feet, and a smell of perfumes came about my
 nostrils. And he wiped my face, and kissed me, and 10
 said to me, Fear not, Joseph; open thine eyes, and
 see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking up, I
 saw Jesus. And I trembled, and thought it was a
 phantom; and I said the commandments, and he said
 them with me. Even so you are not ignorant that a 15
 phantom, if it meet anybody, and hear the command-
 ments, takes to flight. And seeing that he said them
 with me, I said to him, Rabbi Helias. And he said
 to me, I am not Helias. And I said to him, Who
 art thou, my lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus, 20
 whose body thou didst beg from Pilate; and thou
 didst clothe me with clean linen, and didst put a
 napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new
 tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the
 tomb. And I said to him that was speaking to me, 25
 Show me the place where I laid thee. And he
 carried me away, and showed me the place where I
 laid him; and the linen cloth was lying in it, and the
 napkin for his face. And I knew that it was Jesus.

Dread felt And he took me by the hand, and placed me, though
by the the doors were locked, in the middle of my house,
Sanhedrim and led me away to my bed, and said to me, Peace
to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me, For
5 forty days go not forth out of thy house; for, behold,
I go to my brethren into Galilee.

16. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests
and the Levites, when they heard these words from
Joseph, became as dead, and fell to the ground, and
10 fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along
with Joseph, exhorted Annas and Caiaphas, the
priests and the Levites, saying: Rise up and stand
upon your feet, and taste bread, and strengthen your
souls, because to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord.
15 And they rose up, and prayed to God, and ate and
drank, and departed every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath our teachers and the priests
and Levites sat questioning each other, and saying:
What is this wrath that has come upon us? for we
20 know his father and mother. Levi, a teacher, says:
I know that his parents fear God, and do not with-
draw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes
thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents
brought him to this place, and gave sacrifices and
25 burnt-offerings to God. And when the great teacher
Symeon took him into his arms, he said, Now Thou
sendest away Thy servant, Lord, according to Thy
word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy
salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face

of all the peoples : a light for the revelation of the *Levi*
 Gentiles, and the glory of Thy people Israel. And *addresses*
 Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, *the*
 I give thee good news about this child. And Mary *Sanhedrim*
 said, It is well, my lord. And Symeon said to her, 5
 It is well ; behold, he lies for the fall and rising again
 of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against ; and
 of thee thyself a sword shall go through the soul,
 in order that the reasoning of many hearts may be
 revealed.

They say to the teacher Levi : How knowest thou 10
 these things ? Levi says to them : Do you not know
 that from him I learnt the law ? The Sanhedrim
 say to him : We wish to see thy father. And they
 sent for his father. And they asked him ; and he 15
 said to them : Why have you not believed my son ?
 The blessed and just Symeon himself taught him the
 law. The Sanhedrim say to Rabbi Levi : Is the
 word that you have said true ? And he said : It is
 true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the 20
 priests and the Levites, said to themselves : Come,
 let us send unto Galilee to the three men that came
 and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let
 them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this
 saying pleased all. And they sent away the three 25
 men who had already gone away into Galilee with
 them ; and they say to them : Say to Rabbi Adas,
 and Rabbi Phinees, and Rabbi Haggai : Peace to
 you, and all who are with you ! A great inquiry

Adas, having taken place in the Sanhedrim, we have been
Phinees & sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

Haggai And the men set out into Galilee, and found them
sent for sitting and considering the law; and they saluted
them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee
said to those who had come to them: Peace upon
all Israel! And they said: Peace to you! And
they again said to them: Why have you come?
And those who had been sent said: The Sanhedrim
10 call you to the holy city Jerusalem. And when the
men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrim,
they prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and
ate and drank, and rose up, and set out in peace to
Jerusalem.

15 And on the following day the Sanhedrim sat in
the synagogue, and asked them, saying: Did you
really see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch
teaching his eleven disciples, and did you see him
taken up? And the men answered them, and said:
20 As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

Annas says: Take them away from one another,
and let us see whether their account agrees. And
they took them away from one another. And first
they call *Adas*, and say to him: How didst thou see
25 Jesus taken up? *Adas* says: While he was yet
sitting on the mountain Mamilch, and teaching his
disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing both him
& his disciples. And the cloud took him up into
heaven, and his disciples lay upon their face upon the

earth. And they call Phinees the priest, and ask *Sanhedrim* him also, saying : How didst thou see Jesus taken *examine* up? And he spoke in like manner. And they *the Three* again asked Haggai, and he spoke in like manner. And the Sanhedrim said : The law of Moses holds : 5 At the mouth of two or three every word shall be established. Buthem, a teacher, says : It is written in the law, and Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said : And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and 10 have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord; And Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said : Why did Rabbi Symeon say, when he saw Jesus, “ Behold, he lies for the fall and 15 rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against? ” And Rabbi Isaac said : It is written in the law, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name has been called upon 20 him.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said : Rightly have you said what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the death of Moses; but Jesus was tried before Pilate, 25 and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put about him a crown of thorns, and he was scourged, and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two

Announce- robbers with him; and they gave him to drink
ment by vinegar with gall, and Longinus the soldier pierced
Annas & his side with a spear; and Joseph our honourable
Caiaphas father begged his body, and, as he says, he is risen;
 5 and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up
 into heaven; and Rabbi Levi has given evidence of
 what was said by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said,
 Behold, he lies for the fall [and] rising again of
 many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against. And
 10 all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord:
 If this was from the Lord, and is wonderful in your
 eyes, knowing you shall know, O house of Jacob,
 that it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth
 upon a tree. And another scripture teaches: The
 15 gods which have not made the heaven and the earth
 shall be destroyed. And the priests and the Levites
 said to each other: If his memorial be until the
 [year] that is called Jubel, know that it shall endure
 for ever, and he hath raised for himself a new people.
 20 Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and
 the Levites, announced to all Israel, saying: Cursed
 is that man who shall worship the work of man's
 hand, and cursed is the man who shall worship the
 creatures more than the Creator. And all the people
 25 said, Amen, amen.

And all the people praised the Lord, and said:
 Blessed is the Lord, who hath given rest to His
 people Israel, according to all that He hath spoken;
 there hath not fallen one word of every good word of

His that He spoke to Moses His servant. May the *The*
Lord our God be with us, as He was with our *Adoration*
fathers : let Him not destroy us. And let Him not *by the*
destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to Him, *People*
that we may walk in all His ways, that we may keep ⁵
his commandments and His judgments which He
commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be
for a king over all the earth in that day ; and there
shall be one Lord, and His name one. The Lord
is our king : He shall save us. There is none like ¹⁰
Thee, O Lord. Great art Thou, O Lord, and
great is Thy name. By Thy power heal us, O Lord,
and we shall be healed : save us, O Lord, and we
shall be saved ; because we are Thy lot and heritage.
And the Lord will not leave His people, for His ¹⁵
great name's sake ; for the Lord has begun to make
us into His people.

And all, having sung praises, went away each man
to his own house, glorifying God ; for His is the
glory for ever and ever. Amen.

20

The Gospel of Peter

*Pilate &
the Judges*

BUT of the Jews no one washed his hands, neither Herod nor any of his judges. And when they would (not) wash, Pilate arose. And then Herod the king commands them to take the
5 Lord away, saying to them: What things soever I commanded you to do unto him, do.

But there stood by Joseph, the friend of Pilate and of the Lord, and when he knew that they were about to crucify him, he came to Pilate and begged
10 the body of the Lord for burial. And Pilate sent to Herod and begged his body. And Herod said: Brother Pilate, even if no one had asked for him, we would have buried him, seeing that indeed the Sabbath draws on; for it is written in the law, that the sun
15 should not go down upon a slain man. And he delivered him to the people before the first day of unleavened bread, their feast day.

But they took the Lord, and pushed him as they ran, and said: Let us drag along the Son of God,
20 seeing we have got him in our power. And they put on him a purple robe, and set him on the seat of judgment, and said: Judge justly, King of Israel! And one of them brought a crown of thorns, and

set it on the head of the Lord. And others who *Jesus*
stood there spat in his face, and others smote him on *Mocked &*
the cheeks; others pierced him with a reed; and *Crucified*
some scourged him, saying: With this honour let us
honour the Son of God.

And they brought two malefactors and crucified ⁵
the Lord between them. But he was silent as one
who experiences no pain. And when they lifted up
the cross, they wrote upon it: This is the King of
Israel. And having laid down his garments before ¹⁰
him, they divided them, and cast lots for them.
But one of those malefactors reproached them,
saying: We indeed, for the evils that we have
done, have suffered thus, but this man, who has
become a Saviour of men, what wrong has he done ¹⁵
unto you? And they were enraged at him, and
commanded that his legs should not be broken, so
that he might die in torment.

And it was now midday, and darkness covered
the whole of Judea. And they were troubled and ²⁰
in fear lest the sun had gone down while he still
lived, [for] it is written for them, that the sun
should not go down upon a slain man. And one of
them said: Give him gall with vinegar to drink;
and they mixed it and gave him to drink. And ²⁵
they fulfilled all things, and filled up the measure of
their sins upon their own head. And many went
about with lamps, and, thinking that it was night,
stretched themselves down. And the Lord cried

Death & out saying: My Power, my Power, thou hast
Burial forsaken me ! And when he said this, he was taken
up.

And in that hour the veil of the temple of Jeru-
5 salem was rent in two parts. And then they drew
out the nails from the hands of the Lord, and laid
him on the earth ; and the whole earth did quake,
and there was great fear. Then shone out the sun,
and it was found to be the ninth hour. But the
10 Jews rejoiced, and gave to Joseph his body that he
might bury it, seeing that he had been a witness of
all the good deeds he had done. He now took the
Lord, and washed him, and wrapped him in a linen
cloth, and brought him into his own tomb, called
15 the Garden of Joseph.

When the Jews and the elders and the chief priests
saw what evil they had done to themselves, they
began to smite on their breasts and to say : Woe
unto us because of our sins ; the judgment and the
20 end of Jerusalem are come nigh. But I mourned
with my companions, and, being wounded in mind,
we concealed ourselves, for we were sought for by
them as malefactors, and as wishing to set fire to the
temple. But amid all this we fasted, and sat
25 mourning and wailing night and day until the
Sabbath.

But the scribes and Pharisees and elders came
together, when they heard that the whole people
murmured, and beat upon their breasts, saying : If

at his death these mighty signs have been wrought, *The*
behold what a righteous man he is. Then were the *Sealed*
elders afraid and came to Pilate, beseeching him *Sepulchre*
and saying: Give to us soldiers that we may watch
his sepulchre for three days, lest his disciples come s
and steal him away, and the people think that he
is risen from the dead, and do us evil. And
Pilate gave to them Petronius the centurion with
soldiers to guard the tomb, and with them came the
elders and scribes to the sepulchre, and they with 10
the centurion and soldiers rolled a great stone, and
all together, so many as were there, placed it at the
door of the sepulchre. And they spread seven seals
upon it, and when they had pitched a tent there, they
kept watch. But when the morning of the Sabbath 15
dawned, a multitude from Jerusalem and round about
came that they might see the sepulchre that was
sealed.

But in the night in which the Lord's day dawned,
while the soldiers kept watch two and two at their 20
post, a mighty voice sounded in the heaven; and
they saw the heavens opened and two men descending
from thence in great glory, and approaching the
sepulchre. But that stone which had been placed at
the door of the sepulchre rolled back of itself, and 25
moved aside, and the tomb opened, and both the
young men went in. When, therefore, those soldiers
beheld this, they awakened the centurion and the
elders,—for they also were there to watch,—and

The Resurrection while they were telling what they had seen, they behold again coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them. And the heads of the two reached indeed
5 unto heaven, but the head of the one who was led by them reached far above the heavens. And they heard a voice from heaven that said : Hast thou preached unto those that sleep ? And an answer was heard from the cross : Yea.

10 Those men therefore considered with one another whether they should go and announce these things to Pilate. And while they were yet pondering the matter, the heavens open again, and a man descends and goes into the sepulchre. When the people who were
15 with the centurion saw this, they hasted during the night to Pilate, leaving unprotected the tomb which they had been watching, and reported in great terror all that they had seen, and said : Verily, he was the Son of God. Pilate answered and said : I am pure
20 of the blood of the Son of God ; but this was determined upon by yourselves. Thereupon all came forward, and entreated and urged him to command the centurion and soldiers to say nothing about what they had seen. For it is better, said they, to be
25 guilty of the greatest sin against God, and not to fall into the hands of the people of the Jews and be stoned. Then Pilate commanded the centurion and the soldiers to say nothing.

Early in the morning of the Lord's day Mary

Magdalene, a disciple of the Lord—who, through *The* fear of the Jews, because they were burning with *Women at* rage, had not done at the sepulchre of the Lord what *the Tomb* women are wont to do to the dying and those whom they have loved,—took her female friends with her, 5 and went to the sepulchre, where he had been laid. And they feared lest the Jews should see them, and said: If on that day on which he was crucified we could not bewail and lament him, then let us do this even now at his sepulchre. But who will roll away 10 the stone for us, which was placed at the door of the sepulchre, that we may enter in and set ourselves down beside him, and do the things that are due? For the stone was great, and we fear lest anyone should see us. And if we cannot do it, then let us 15 at least lay down at the door what we bring in memory of him, and weep and smite on our breasts, till we come back into our own house. And when they came, they found the tomb open, and they drew near, and stooped down, and see there a young man 20 sitting within the tomb, beautiful and clothed in the most shining raiment, who said to them: Wherefore are ye come? Whom seek ye? Not still that crucified one? He is risen and gone hence. But if ye believe it not, stoop down and see the place where 25 he lay, that he is not (here); for he is risen and gone thither, whence he was sent. Then were the women afraid and fled.

But the last day of unleavened bread had come,

Grief of Disciples and many were going away, returning to their homes, as the feast was over. We now, the twelve disciples of the Lord, mourned and were grieved, and each one, full of grief over what had taken place, departed
 5 to his own home. But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew, my brother, took our nets and went out upon the sea, and with us was Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord . . .

Acts of Paul and Thecla

Treachery of Demas and Ermogenes AS Paul was going up to Iconium after the flight from Antioch, his fellow-travellers were Demas and Ermogenes, full of hypocrisy; and they were importunate with Paul, as if they loved him.
 15 But Paul, looking only to the goodness of Christ, did them no harm, but loved them exceedingly, so that he made the oracles of the Lord sweet to them in the teaching both of the birth and the resurrection of the Beloved; and he gave them an account, word for word, of the great things of Christ, how He had been revealed to him.

20 And a certain man, by name Onesiphorus, hearing that Paul had come to Iconium, went out to meet him with his children Silas and Zeno, and his wife

Lectra, in order that he might entertain him; for *Paul* Titus had informed him what Paul was like in *meets* appearance: for he had not seen him in the flesh, *Onesi-* but only in the spirit. And he went along the road *phorus* to Lystra, and stood waiting for him, and kept ⁵ looking at the passers-by according to the description of Titus. And he saw Paul coming, a man small in size, bald-headed, bandy-legged, well built, with eyebrows meeting, rather long-nosed, full of grace. For sometimes he seemed like a man, and sometimes ¹⁰ he had the countenance of an angel. And Paul, seeing Onesiphorus, smiled; and Onesiphorus said: Hail, O servant of the blessed God! And he said: Grace be with thee and thy house. And Demas and Ermogenes were jealous, and showed greater ¹⁵ hypocrisy; so that Demas said: Are not we of the blessed God, that thou hast not thus saluted us? And Onesiphorus said: I do not see in you the fruit of righteousness; but if such you be, come you also into my house and rest yourselves. ²⁰

And Paul having gone into the house of Onesiphorus, there was great joy, and bending of knees, and breaking of bread, and the word of God about self-control and the resurrection; Paul saying: Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see ²⁵ God: blessed are they that have kept the flesh chaste, for they shall become a temple of God: blessed are they that control themselves, for God shall speak with them: blessed are they that have

Thecla kept aloof from this world, for they shall be called
first hears upright: blessed are they that have wives as not
Paul having them, for they shall receive God for their
speak portion: blessed are they that have the fear of God,
5 for they shall become angels of God: blessed are
they that have kept the baptism, for they shall rest
beside the Father and the Son: blessed are the
merciful, for they shall obtain mercy, and shall not
see the bitter day of judgment: blessed are the
10 bodies of the virgins, for they shall be well pleasing
to God, and shall not lose the reward of their
chastity; for the word of the Father shall become
to them a work of salvation against the day of His
Son, and they shall have rest for ever and ever.

15 And while Paul was thus speaking in the midst of
the church in the house of Onesiphorus, a certain
virgin Thecla, the daughter of Theocleia, betrothed
to a man (named) Thamyris, sitting at a window
close by, listened night and day to the discourse of
20 virginity and prayer, and did not look away from the
window, but paid earnest heed to the faith, rejoicing
exceedingly. And when she still saw many women
going in beside Paul, she also had an eager desire to
be deemed worthy to stand in the presence of Paul,
25 and to hear the word of Christ; for never had she
seen his figure, but heard his word only.

And as she did not stand away from the window,
her mother sends to Thamyris; and he comes gladly,
as if already receiving her in marriage. And Theo-

cleia said: I have a strange story to tell thee, *Appeal of*
 Thamyris; for assuredly for three days and three *Thamyris,*
 nights Thecla does not rise from the window, *Thecla's*
 neither to eat nor to drink; but looking earnestly as *Betrothed*
 if upon some pleasant sight, she is so devoted to a 5
 foreigner teaching deceitful and artful discourses, that
 I wonder how a virgin of such modesty is so painfully
 put about. Thamyris, this man will overturn the
 city of the Iconians, and thy Thecla too besides;
 for all the women and the young men go in beside 10
 him, being taught to fear God and to live in chastity.
 Moreover also my daughter, tied to the window like
 a spider, lays hold of what is said by Paul with a
 strange eagerness and awful emotion; for the virgin
 looks eagerly at what is said by him, and has been 15
 captivated. But do thou go near and speak to her,
 for she has been betrothed to thee.

And Thamyris going near, and kissing her, but at
 the same time also being afraid of her overpowering
 emotion, said: Thecla, my betrothed, why dost thou 20
 sit thus? and what sort of feeling holds thee over-
 powered? Turn round to thy Thamyris, and be
 ashamed. Moreover also her mother said the same
 things: Why dost thou sit thus looking down, my
 child, and answering nothing, but like a mad woman! 25
 And they wept fearfully, Thamyris indeed for the loss
 of a wife, and Theocleia of a child, and the maid-
 servants of a mistress: there was accordingly much
 confusion in the house of mourning. And while these

Thamyris things were thus going on, Thecla did not turn round, *bribes* but kept attending earnestly to the word of Paul.

Demas & And *Thamyris* starting up, went forth into the *Ermogenes* street, and kept watching those going in to him and
5 coming out. And he saw two men bitterly contending with each other; and he said: Men, tell me who this is among you, leading astray the souls of young men, and deceiving virgins, so that they do not marry, but remain as they are. I promise,
10 therefore, to give you money enough if you tell me about him; for I am the first man of the city. And *Demas* and *Ermogenes* said to him: Who this is, indeed, we do not know; but he deprives young men of wives, and maidens of husbands, saying,
15 There is for you a resurrection in no other way, unless you remain chaste, and pollute not the flesh, but keep it chaste. And *Thamyris* said to them: Come into my house, and rest yourselves. And they went to a sumptuous dinner, and much wine,
20 and great wealth, and a splendid table; and *Thamyris* made them drink, from his love to *Thecla*, and his wish to get her as his wife. And *Thamyris* said during the dinner: Ye men, what is his teaching, tell me, that I also may know; for I am no little
25 distressed about *Thecla*, because she thus loves the stranger, and I am prevented from marrying.

Demas and *Ermogenes* said: Bring him before the governor *Castelios* on the charge of persuading the multitudes to embrace the new teaching of the

Christians, and he will speedily destroy him, and *Thamyris* thou shalt have Thecla as thy wife. And we shall *asks aid* teach thee that the resurrection of which this man *from the* speaks has taken place, because it has already taken *Proconsul* place in the children which we have; and we rose 5 again when we came to the knowledge of the true God.

And Thamyris, hearing these things, being filled with anger and rage, rising up early, went to the house of Onesiphorus with archons and public officers, 10 and a great crowd with batons, saying: Thou hast corrupted the city of the Iconians, and her that was betrothed to me, so that she will not have me: let us go to the governor Castelios. And all the multitude said: Away with the magician; for he has corrupted 15 all our wives, and the multitudes have been persuaded (to change their opinions).

And Thamyris, standing before the tribunal, said with a great shout: O proconsul, this man, who he is we know not, who makes virgins averse to marriage; 20 let him say before thee on what account he teaches these things. And Demas and Ermogenes said to Thamyris: Say that he is a Christian, and thus thou wilt do away with him. But the proconsul stayed his intention, and called Paul, saying: Who art thou, 25 and what dost thou teach? for they bring no small charges against thee. And Paul lifted up his voice, saying: Since I am this day examined as to what I teach, listen, O proconsul: A living God, a God of

Paul retributions, a jealous God, a God in need of nothing, *defends* consulting for the salvation of men, has sent me that *himself* I may reclaim them from corruption and uncleanness, and from all pleasure, and from death, that they may
5 not sin. Wherefore God sent His own Son, whom I preach, and in whom I teach men to rest their hope, who alone has had compassion upon a world led astray, that they may be no longer under judgment, O proconsul, but may have faith, and the fear of God, and
10 the knowledge of holiness, and the love of truth. If, therefore, I teach what has been revealed to me by God, wherein do I do wrong? And the proconsul having heard, ordered Paul to be bound, and sent to prison, until, said he, I, being at leisure, shall hear
15 him more attentively.

And Thecla by night having taken off her bracelets, gave them to the gatekeeper; and the door having been opened to her, she went into the prison; and having given the jailor a silver mirror, she went in
20 beside Paul, and, sitting at his feet, she heard the great things of God. And Paul was afraid of nothing, but ordered his life in the confidence of God. And her faith also was increased, and she kissed his bonds.

25 And when Thecla was sought for by her friends, and Thamyris, as if she had been lost, was running up and down the streets, one of the gatekeeper's fellow-slaves informed him that she had gone out by night. And having gone out, they examined the

gatekeeper; and he said to them: She has gone to *Thecla* the foreigner into the prison. And having gone, they *follows* found her, as it were, enchained by affection. And *Paul to* having gone forth thence, they drew the multitudes *Prison* together, and informed the governor of the circum- 5 stance. And he ordered Paul to be brought to the tribunal; but Thecla was wallowing on the ground in the place where he sat and taught her in the prison; and he ordered her too to be brought to the tribunal. And she came, exulting with joy. And 10 the crowd, when Paul had been brought, vehemently cried out: He is a magician! away with him! But the proconsul gladly heard Paul upon the holy works of Christ. And having called a counsel, he summoned Thecla, and said to her: Why dost thou 15 not obey Thamyris, according to the law of the Iconians? But she stood looking earnestly at Paul. And when she gave no answer, her mother cried out, saying: Burn the wicked [wretch]; burn in the midst of the theatre her that will not marry, in order 20 that all the women that have been taught by this man may be afraid.

And the governor was greatly moved; and having scourged Paul, he cast him out of the city, and condemned Thecla to be burned. And immediately 25 the governor went away to the theatre, and all the crowd went forth to the spectacle of Thecla. But as a lamb in the wilderness looks round for the shepherd, so she kept searching for Paul. And having looked

Thecla upon the crowd, she saw the Lord sitting in the *saved from* likeness of Paul, and said : As I am unable to endure *being* my lot, Paul has come to see me. And she gazed *burned* upon him with great earnestness, and he went up
5 into heaven. But the maid-servants and virgins brought the faggots, in order that Thecla might be burned. And when she came in naked, the governor wept, and wondered at the power that was in her. And the public executioners arranged the faggots for
10 her to go up on the pile. And she, having made the sign of the cross, went up on the faggots; and they lighted them. And though a great fire was blazing, it did not touch her; for God, having compassion upon her, made an underground rumbling,
15 and a cloud overshadowed them from above, full of water and hail; and all that was in the cavity of it was poured out, so that many were in danger of death. And the fire was put out, and Thecla saved.

And Paul was fasting with Onesiphorus and his
20 wife, and his children, in a new tomb, as they were going from Iconium to Daphne. And when many days were past, the fasting children said to Paul: We are hungry, and we cannot buy loaves; for Onesiphorus had left the things of the world, and
25 followed Paul, with all his house. And Paul, having taken off his cloak, said: Go, my child, buy more loaves, and bring them. And when the child was buying, he saw Thecla their neighbour, and was astonished, and said: Thecla, whither art thou going?

And she said: I have been saved from the fire, and *Thecla* am following Paul. And the boy said: Come, I *discovers* shall take thee to him; for he is distressed about *Paul* thee, and is praying six days. And she stood beside the tomb where Paul was with bended knees, and, praying, and saying: O Saviour Christ, let not the fire touch Thecla, but stand by her, for she is Thine. And she, standing behind him, cried out: O Father, who hast made the heaven and the earth, the Father of Thy holy Son, I bless Thee that Thou hast ¹⁰ saved me that I may see Paul. And Paul, rising up, saw her, and said: O God, that knowest the heart, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I bless Thee that Thou, having heard me, hast done quickly what I wished. 15

And they had five loaves, and herbs, and water; and they rejoiced in the holy works of Christ. And Thecla said to Paul: I shall cut my hair, and follow thee whithersoever thou mayst go. And he said: It is a shameless age, and thou art beautiful. I am ²⁰ afraid lest another temptation come upon thee worse than the first, and that thou withstand it not, but be cowardly. And Thecla said: Only give me the seal in Christ, and temptation shall not touch me. And Paul said: Thecla, wait with patience, and thou ²⁵ shalt receive the water.

And Paul sent away Onesiphorus and all his house to Iconium; and thus, having taken Thecla, he went into Antioch. And as they were going in, a certain

Thecla Syriarch, Alexander by name, seeing *Thecla*, became *condemned* enamoured of her, and tried to gain over Paul by *to the Wild* gifts and presents. But Paul said : I know not the *Beasts* woman whom thou speakest of, nor is she mine.

5 But he, being of great power, himself embraced her in the street. But she would not endure it, but looked about for Paul. And she cried out bitterly, saying : Do not force the stranger ; do not force the servant of God. I am one of the chief persons of the
10 Iconians ; and because I would not have *Thamyris*, I have been cast out of the city. And taking hold of Alexander, she tore his cloak, and pulled off his crown, and made him a laughing-stock. And he, at the same time loving her, and at the same time
15 ashamed of what had happened, led her before the governor ; and when she had confessed that she had done these things, he condemned her to the wild beasts. And the women were struck with astonishment, and cried out beside the tribunal : Evil judg-
20 ment ! impious judgment ! And she asked the governor, that, said she, I may remain pure until I shall fight with the wild beasts. And a certain *Tryphæna*, whose daughter was dead, took her into keeping, and had her for a consolation.

25 And when the beasts were exhibited, they bound her to a fierce lioness ; and *Tryphæna* accompanied her. But the lioness, with *Thecla* sitting upon her, licked her feet ; and all the multitude was astonished. And the charge on her inscription was : Sacrilegious.

And the women cried out from above : An impious *Tryphæna* sentence has been passed in this city ! And after the *adopts her* exhibition, Tryphæna again receives her. For her daughter Falconilla had died, and said to her in a dream : Mother, thou shalt have this stranger Thecla 5 in my place, in order that she may pray concerning me, and that I may be transferred to the place of the just.

And when, after the exhibition, Tryphæna received her, at the same time indeed she grieved that she had 10 to fight with the wild beasts on the day following ; and at the same time, loving her as much as her daughter Falconilla, she said : My second child Thecla, come and pray for my child, that she may live for ever ; for this I saw in my sleep. And she, 15 nothing hesitating, lifted up her voice, and said : God most high, grant to this woman according to her wish, that her daughter Falconilla may live for ever. And when Thecla had thus spoken, Tryphæna lamented, considering so much beauty thrown to the 20 wild beasts.

And when it was dawn, Alexander came to take her, for it was he that gave the hunt, saying : The governor is sitting, and the crowd is in uproar against us. Allow me to take away her that is to fight with 25 the wild beasts. And Tryphæna cried aloud, so that he even fled, saying : A second mourning for my Falconilla has come upon my house, and there is no one to help ; neither child, for she is dead, nor

Thecla kinsman, for I am a widow. God of *Thecla*, help defended her !

by a And immediately the governor sends an order that

Lioness *Thecla* should be brought. And *Tryphæna*, taking
5 her by the hand, said : My daughter *Falconilla*,
indeed, I took away to the tomb ; and thee, *Thecla*,
I am taking to the wild-beast fight. And *Thecla*
wept bitterly, saying : O Lord, the God in whom I
believe, to whom I have fled for refuge, who de-
10 liveredst me from the fire, do thou grant a recom-
pense to *Tryphæna*, who has had compassion on Thy
servant, and because she has kept me pure. Then a
tumult arose, and a cry of the people, and the women
sitting together, the one saying : Away with the
15 sacrilegious person ! the others saying : Let the
city be raised against this wickedness. Take
off all of us, O proconsul ! Cruel sight ! evil
sentence !

And *Thecla*, having been taken out of the hand of
20 *Tryphæna*, was stripped, and received a girdle, and
was thrown into the arena, and lions and bears and a
fierce lioness were let loose upon her ; and the lioness
having run up to her feet, lay down ; and the multi-
tude of the women cried aloud. And a bear ran upon
25 her ; but the lioness, meeting the bear, tore her to
pieces. And again a lion that had been trained
against men, which belonged to *Alexander*, ran upon
her ; and she (the lioness), encountering the lion,
was killed along with him. And the women made

great lamentation, since also the lioness, her protector, *Thecla's*
was dead. *Self-*

Then they sent in many wild beasts, she standing *Baptism*
and stretching forth her hands, and praying. And
when she had finished her prayer, she turned and saw 5
a ditch full of water, and said : Now it is time to
wash myself. And she threw herself in, saying :
In the name of Jesus Christ I am baptized on my
last day. And the women seeing, and the multitude,
wept, saying : Do not throw thyself into the water ; 10
so that also the governor shed tears, because the seals
were going to devour such beauty. She then threw
herself (in) in the name of Jesus Christ ; but the
seals having seen the glare of the fire of lightning,
floated about dead. And there was round her, as she 15
was naked, a cloud of fire ; so that neither could the
wild beasts touch her, nor could she be seen naked.

And the women, when other wild beasts were being
thrown in, wailed. And some threw sweet-smelling
herbs, others nard, others cassia, others amomum, so 20
that there was abundance of perfumes. And all the
wild beasts that had been thrown in, as if they had
been withheld by sleep, did not touch her ; so that
Alexander said to the governor : I have bulls ex-
ceedingly terrible ; let us bind to them her that is to 25
fight with the beasts. And the governor, looking
gloomy, turned, and said : Do what thou wilt.
And they bound her by the feet between them, and
put red-hot irons under the privy parts of the bulls,

Thecla so that they, being rendered more furious, might kill
saved from her. They rushed about, therefore ; but the burning
Wild Bulls flame consumed the ropes, and she was as if she had
not been bound. But Tryphæna fainted standing
5 beside the arena, so that the crowd said : Queen
Tryphæna is dead. And the governor put a stop to
the games, and the city was in dismay. And Alex-
ander entreated the governor, saying : Have mercy
both on me and the city, and release this woman.
10 For if Cæsar hear of these things, he will speedily
destroy the city also along with us, because his kins-
woman Queen Tryphæna has died beside the *abaci*.

And the governor summoned Thecla out of the
midst of the wild beasts, and said to her : Who art
15 thou ? and what is there about thee, that not one of
the wild beasts touches thee ? And she said : I
indeed am a servant of the living God ; and as to
what there is about me, I have believed in the Son
of God, in whom He is well pleased ; wherefore not
20 one of the beasts has touched me. For He alone is
the end of salvation, and the basis of immortal life ;
for He is a refuge to the tempest-tossed, a solace to
the afflicted, a shelter to the despairing ; and, once
for all, whoever shall not believe on Him, shall not
25 live for ever.

And the governor having heard this, ordered her
garments to be brought, and to be put on. And
Thecla said : He that clothed me naked among the
wild beasts, will in the day of judgment clothe thee

with salvation. And taking the garments she put *Thecla* them on. The governor therefore immediately issued *released*, an edict, saying: I release to you the God-fearing *seeks for* Thecla, the servant of God. And the women shouted *Paul* aloud, and with one mouth returned thanks to God, ⁵ saying: There is one God, (the God) of Thecla; so that the foundations of the theatre were shaken by their voice. And Tryphæna having received the good news, went to meet the holy Thecla, and said: Now I believe that the dead are raised; now I ¹⁰ believe that my child lives. Come within, and I shall assign to thee all that is mine. She therefore went in along with her, and rested eight days, having instructed her in the word of God, so that most even of the maid-servants believed. And there was great ¹⁵ joy in the house.

And Thecla kept seeking Paul; and it was told her that he was in Myra of Lycia. And taking young men and maidens, she girded herself; and having sewed the tunic so as to make a man's cloak, ²⁰ she came to Myra, and found Paul speaking the word of God. And Paul was astonished at seeing her, and the crowd with her, thinking that some new trial was coming upon her. And when she saw him, she said: I have received the baptism, Paul; for He ²⁵ that wrought along with thee for the gospel has wrought in me also for baptism. And Paul, taking her, led her to the house of Hermæus, and hears everything from her, so that those that heard greatly

Thecla's wondered, and were comforted, and prayed over
Mission to Tryphæna. And she rose up, and said: I am going
her own to Iconium. And Paul said: Go, and teach the
City word of God. And Tryphæna sent her much
5 clothing and gold, so that she left to Paul many
things for the service of the poor.

And she went to Iconium. And she goes into the
house of Onesiphorus, and fell upon the pavement
where Paul used to sit and teach her, and wept,
10 saying: God of myself and of this house, where
Thou didst make the light to shine upon me, O
Christ Jesus, the Son of the living God, my help in
the fire, my help among the wild beasts, Thou art
glorified for ever. Amen. And she found Thamyris
15 dead, but her mother alive. And having sent for her
mother, she said: Theocleia, my mother, canst thou
believe that the Lord liveth in the heavens? For
whether thou desirest wealth, God gives it to thee
through me; or thy child, I am standing beside thee.
20 And having thus testified, she departed to Seleucia,
and dwelt in a cave seventy-two years, living upon
herbs and water. And she enlightened many by the
word of God.

And certain men of the city, being Greeks by
25 religion, and physicians by profession, sent to her
insolent young men to destroy her. For they said:
She is a virgin, and serves Artemis, and from this she
has virtue in healing. And by the providence of God
she entered into the rock alive, and went under

ground. And she departed to Rome to see Paul, *Death of*
and found that he had fallen asleep. And after *Thecla*
staying there no long time, she rested in a glorious
sleep; and she is buried about two or three stadia
from the tomb of her master Paul. 5

She was cast, then, into the fire when seventeen
years old, and among the wild beasts when eighteen.
And she was an ascetic in the cave, as has been said,
seventy-two years, so that all the years of her life
were ninety. And having accomplished many cures, 10
she rests in the place of the saints, having fallen asleep
on the twenty-fourth of the month of September in
Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be glory and
strength for ever and ever. Amen.



Instead of the two last sections, the ms. which Dr 15
Grabe used has the following:—

And a cloud of light guided her. And having
come into Seleucia, she went forth outside of the
city one stadium. And she was afraid of them also,
for they worshipped idols. And it guided her to the 20
mountain called Calamon or Rhodeon; and having
there found a cave, she went into it. And she was
there many years, and underwent many and grievous
trials by the devil, and bore them nobly, being
assisted by Christ. And some of the well-born 25
women, having learned about the virgin Thecla, went
to her, and learned the oracles of God. And many
of them bade adieu to the world, and lived an ascetic

Thecla life with her. And a good report was spread everywhere concerning her, and cures were done by her.

Sick All the city, therefore, and country round, having known this, brought their sick to the mountain; and
5 before they came near the door they were speedily released from whatever disease they were afflicted by; and the unclean spirits went out shrieking, and all received their own in health, glorifying God, who had given such grace to the virgin Thecla. The
10 physicians, therefore, of the city of the Seleucians were thought nothing of, having lost their trade, and no one any longer had regard to them; and being filled with envy and hatred, they plotted against the servant of Christ, what they should do to her.

15 The devil then suggests to them a wicked device; and one day, being assembled, and having taken counsel, they consult with each other, saying: This virgin is a priestess of the great goddess Artemis; and if she ask anything of her, she hears
20 her as being a virgin, and all the gods love her. Come, then, let us take men of disorderly lives, and make them drunk with much wine, and let us give them much gold, and say to them, If you can corrupt and defile her, we shall give you even more money.

25 The physicians therefore said to themselves, that if they should be able to defile her, neither the gods nor Artemis would listen to her in the case of the sick. They therefore did so. And the wicked men, having gone to the mountain, and rushed upon

the cave like lions, knocked at the door. And the *Another*
holy martyr Thecla opened, emboldened by the God *Account of*
in whom she believed; for she knew of their plot *Thecla's*
beforehand. And she says to them: What do you *Death*
want, my children? And they said: Is there one ⁵
here called Thecla? And she said: What do you
want with her? They say to her: we want to sleep
with her. The blessed Thecla says to them: I am
a humble old woman, but the servant of my Lord
Jesus Christ; and even though you want to do ¹⁰
something to me out of place, you cannot. They
say to her: It is impossible for us not to do to thee
what we want. And having said this, they laid fast
hold of her, and wished to insult her. And she says
to them with mildness: Wait, my children, that you ¹⁵
may see the glory of the Lord. And being laid hold
of by them, she looked up into heaven, and said:
God, terrible and incomparable, and glorious to
Thine adversaries, who didst deliver me out of the
fire, who didst not give me up to Thamyras, who ²⁰
didst not give me up to Alexander, who didst deliver
me from the wild beasts, who didst save me in the
abyss, who hast everywhere worked with me, and
glorified Thy name in me, now also deliver me from
these lawless men, and let me not insult my virginity, ²⁵
which through Thy name I have preserved till
now, because I love Thee, and desire Thee, and
adore Thee, the Father, and the Son, and the
Holy Ghost for ever. Amen. And there came a

Another voice out of the heaven, saying : Fear not, Thecla, Account of my true servant, for I am with thee. Look and see Thecla's where an opening has been made before thee, for Death there shall be for thee an everlasting house, and
5 *there thou shalt obtain shelter. And the blessed Thecla regarding it, saw the rock opened as far as to allow a man to enter, and did according to what had been said to her : and nobly fleeing from the lawless ones, entered into the rock ; and the rock was*
10 *straightway shut together, so that not even a joining appeared. And they, beholding the extraordinary wonder, became as it were distracted ; and they were not able to detain the servant of God, but only caught hold of her veil, and were able to tear off a certain*
15 *part ; and that by the permission of God for the faith of those seeing the venerable place, and for a blessing in the generations afterwards to those that believe in our Lord Jesus Christ out of a pure heart.*

Thus, then, suffered the first martyr of God, and
20 *apostle, and virgin, Thecla, who came from Iconium at eighteen years old ; and with the journeying, and the going round, and the retirement in the mountain, she lived other seventy-two years. And when the Lord took her, she was ninety years old. And thus*
25 *is her consummation. And her holy commemoration is on the twenty-fourth of the month of September, to the glory of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and ever, and to ages of ages. Amen.*

The Falling Asleep of Mary

(*The Account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God.*)

AS the all-holy glorious mother of God and ever-*Mary's*
virgin Mary, as was her wont, was going to *Visit to*
the holy tomb of our Lord to burn incense, and *the*
bending her holy knees, she was importunate *Sepulchre*
that Christ our God who had been born of her ⁵
should return to her. And the Jews, seeing her
lingering by the divine sepulchre, came to the chief
priests, saying : Mary goes every day to the tomb.
And the chief priests, having summoned the guards
set by them not to allow any one to pray at the holy ¹⁰
sepulchre, inquired about her, whether in truth it
were so. And the guards answered and said that
they had seen no such thing, God having not allowed
them to see her when there. And on one of the
days, it being the preparation, the holy Mary, as was ¹⁵
her wont, came to the sepulchre ; and while she was
praying, it came to pass that the heavens were
opened, and the archangel Gabriel came down to her,
and said : Hail, thou that didst bring forth Christ
our God ! Thy prayer having come through to the ²⁰

Mary's heavens to Him who was born of thee, has been *Prayer* accepted; and from this time, according to thy *for the* request, thou having left the world, shalt go to the *Coming* heavenly places to thy Son, into the true and ever-
of the lasting life.

Apostles And having heard this from the holy archangel, she returned to holy Bethlehem, having along with her three virgins who ministered unto her. And after having rested a short time, she sat up and said to the
10 virgins : Bring me a censer, that I may pray. And they brought it, as they had been commanded. And she prayed, saying : My Lord Jesus Christ, who didst deign through Thy supreme goodness to be born of me, hear my voice, and send me Thy apostle
15 John, in order that, seeing him, I may partake of joy ; and send me also the rest of Thy apostles, both those who have already gone to Thee, and those in the world that now is, in whatever country they may be, through Thy holy commandment, in order that,
20 having beheld them, I may bless Thy name much to be praised ; for I am confident that Thou hearest Thy servant in everything.

And while she was praying, I John came, the Holy Spirit having snatched me up by a cloud from
25 Ephesus, and set me in the place where the mother of my Lord was lying. And having gone in beside her, and glorified Him who had been born of her, I said : Hail, mother of my Lord, who didst bring forth Christ our God, rejoice that in great glory thou

art going out of this life. And the holy mother of *Arrival*
 God glorified God, because I John had come to her, *of John*
 remembering the voice of the Lord, saying: Behold
 Thy mother, and, Behold thy son. And the
 three virgins came and worshipped. And the
 holy mother of God says to me: Pray, and
 cast incense. And I prayed thus: Lord Jesus
 Christ, who hast done wonderful things, now also
 do wonderful things before her who brought Thee
 forth; and let Thy mother depart from this life;
 and let those who crucified Thee, and who have not
 believed in Thee, be confounded. And after I had
 ended the prayer, holy Mary said to me: Bring me
 the censer. And having cast incense, she said,
 Glory to Thee, my God and my Lord, because
 there has been fulfilled in me whatsoever Thou didst
 promise to me before Thou didst ascend into the
 heavens, that when I should depart from this world
 Thou wouldst come to me, and the multitude of
 Thine angels, with glory. And I John say to her:
 Jesus Christ our Lord and our God is coming, and
 thou seest Him, as He promised to thee. And the
 holy mother of God answered and said to me: The
 Jews have sworn that after I have died they will
 burn my body. And I answered and said to her:
 Thy holy and precious body will by no means see
 corruption. And she answered and said to me:
 Bring a censer, and cast incense, and pray. And
 there came a voice out of the heavens saying the

The other Amen. And I John heard this voice; and the
Apostles Holy Spirit said to me: John, hast thou heard this
appear voice that spoke in the heaven after the prayer was
ended? And I answered and said: Yes, I heard.
5 And the Holy Spirit said to me: This voice which
thou didst hear denotes that the appearance of thy
brethren the apostles is at hand, and of the holy
powers that they are coming hither to-day.

And at this I John prayed.

- 10 And the Holy Spirit said to the apostles: Let
all of you together, having come by the clouds from
the ends of the world, be assembled to holy
Bethlehem by a whirlwind, on account of the
mother of our Lord Jesus Christ; Peter from Rome,
15 Paul from Tiberia, Thomas from Hither India,
James from Jerusalem. Andrew, Peter's brother,
and Philip, Luke, and Simeon the Cananæan, and
Thaddæus who had fallen asleep, were raised by the
Holy Spirit out of their tombs; to whom the
20 Holy Spirit said: Do not think that it is now the
resurrection; but on this account you have risen out of
your tombs, that you may go to give greeting to the
honour and wonder-working of the mother of our Lord
and Saviour Jesus Christ, because the day of her
25 departure is at hand, of her going up into the heavens.
And Mark likewise coming round, was present from
Alexandria; he also with the rest, as has been said
before, from each country. And Peter being lifted up
by a cloud, stood between heaven and earth, the Holy

Spirit keeping him steady. And at the same time, the *John* rest of the apostles also, having been snatched up in *relates his* clouds, were found along with Peter. And thus by *Experience* the Holy Spirit, as has been said, they all came together.

And having gone in beside the mother of our Lord and God, and having adored, we said : Fear not, nor grieve ; God the Lord, who was born of thee, will take thee out of this world with glory. And re-joining in God her Saviour, she sat up in the bed, ¹⁰ and says to the apostles : Now have I believed that our Master and God is coming from heaven, and I shall behold Him, and thus depart from this life, as I have seen that you have come. And I wish you to tell me how you knew that I was departing and ¹⁵ came to me, and from what countries and through what distance you have come hither, that you have thus made haste to visit me. For neither has He who was born of me, our Lord Jesus Christ, the God of the universe, concealed it ; for I am persuaded even ²⁰ now that He is the Son of the Most High.

And Peter answered and said to the apostles : Let us each, according to what the Holy Spirit announced and commanded us, give full information to the mother of our Lord. And I John answered and ²⁵ said : Just as I was going in to the holy altar in Ephesus to perform divine service, the Holy Spirit says to me, The time of the departure of the mother of thy Lord is at hand ; go to Bethlehem to salute

Miraculous to the apostles: Cast incense, and pray. And
Occurrences when they had prayed, there was thunder from
in *Beth-* heaven, and there came a fearful voice, as if of
lehem chariots; and, behold, a multitude of a host of
5 angels and powers, and a voice, as if of the Son of
man, was heard, and the seraphim in a circle round
the house where the holy, spotless mother of God
and virgin was lying, so that all who were in
Bethlehem beheld all the wonderful things, and came
10 to Jerusalem and reported all the wonderful things
that had come to pass. And it came to pass, when
the voice was heard, that the sun and the moon
suddenly appeared about the house; and an assembly
of the first-born saints stood beside the house where
15 the mother of the Lord was lying, for her honour and
glory. And I beheld also that many signs came to
pass, the blind seeing, the deaf hearing, the lame
walking, lepers cleansed, and those possessed by un-
clean spirits cured; and every one who was under
20 disease and sickness, touching the outside of the
wall of the house where she was lying, cried out:
Holy Mary, who didst bring forth Christ our God,
have mercy upon us. And they were straightway
cured. And great multitudes out of every country
25 living in Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, having
heard of the signs that had come to pass in Bethle-
hem through the mother of the Lord, came to the
place seeking the cure of various diseases, which also
they obtained. And there was joy unspeakable on

that day among the multitude of those who had been *The Jews*
cured, as well as of those who looked on, glorifying *demand*
Christ our God and His mother. And all Jerusalem *that Mary*
from Bethlehem kept festival with psalms and spiritual *be expelled*
songs. *from*

And the priests of the Jews, along with their *Bethlehem*
people, were astonished at the things which had come
to pass; and being moved with the heaviest hatred,
and again with frivolous reasoning, having made an
assembly, they determine to send against the holy 10
mother of God and the holy apostles who were there
in Bethlehem. And accordingly the multitude of
the Jews, having directed their course to Bethlehem,
when at the distance of one mile it came to pass that
they beheld a frightful vision, and their feet were held 15
fast; and after this they returned to their fellow-
countrymen, and reported all the frightful vision to
the chief priests. And they, still more boiling with
rage, go to the procurator, crying out and saying:
'The nation of the Jews has been ruined by this 20
woman; chase her from Bethlehem and the province
of Jerusalem. And the procurator, astonished at the
wonderful things, said to them: I will chase her
neither from Bethlehem nor from any other place.
And the Jews continued crying out, and adjuring 25
him by the health of Tiberius Cæsar to bring the
apostles out of Bethlehem. And if you do not do
so, we shall report it to the Cæsar. Accordingly,
being compelled, he sends a tribune of the soldiers

Apostles against the apostles to Bethlehem. And the Holy
carry Spirit says to the apostles and the mother of the
Mary to Lord : Behold, the procurator has sent a tribune
Jerusalem against you, the Jews having made an uproar. Go
5 forth therefore from Bethlehem, and fear not : for,
behold, by a cloud I shall bring you to Jerusalem ;
for the power of the Father, and the Son, and the
Holy Spirit is with you. The apostles therefore
rose up immediately, and went forth from the house,
10 carrying the bed of the Lady the mother of God,
and directed their course to Jerusalem ; and immedi-
ately, as the Holy Spirit had said, being lifted up by
a cloud, they were found in Jerusalem in the house of
the Lady. And they stood up, and for five days
15 made an unceasing singing of praise. And when the
tribune came to Bethlehem, and found there neither
the mother of the Lord nor the apostles, he laid hold
of the Bethlehemites, saying to them : Did you not
come telling the procurator and the priests all the
20 signs and wonders that had come to pass, and how
the apostles had come out of every country ? Where
are they, then ? Come, go to the procurator at Jeru-
salem. For the tribune did not know of the departure
of the apostles and the Lord's mother to Jerusalem.
25 The tribune then, having taken the Bethlehemites, went
in to the procurator, saying that he had found no one.
And after five days it was known to the procurator,
and the priests, and all the city, that the Lord's
mother was in her own house in Jerusalem, along with

the apostles, from the signs and wonders that came to *Division*
 pass there. And a multitude of men and women and *among the*
 virgins came together, and cried out: Holy virgin, *Jews*
 that didst bring forth Christ our God, do not forget
 the generation of men. And when these things came 5
 to pass, the people of the Jews, with the priests also,
 being the more moved with hatred, took wood and
 fire, and came up, wishing to burn the house where
 the Lord's mother was living with the apostles. And
 the procurator stood looking at the sight from afar 10
 off. And when the people of the Jews came to the
 door of the house, behold, suddenly a power of fire
 coming forth from within, by means of an angel,
 burnt up a great multitude of the Jews. And there
 was great fear throughout all the city; and they 15
 glorified God, who had been born of her. And
 when the procurator saw what had come to pass, he
 cried out to all the people, saying: Truly he who was
 born of the virgin, whom you thought of driving
 away, is the Son of God; for these signs are those 20
 of the true God. And there was a division among
 the Jews; and many believed in the name of our
 Lord Jesus Christ, in consequence of the signs that
 had come to pass.

And after all these wonderful things had come to 25
 pass through the mother of God, and ever-virgin
 Mary the mother of the Lord, while we the apostles
 were with her in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit said to
 us: You know that on the Lord's day the good

The Holy news was brought to the Virgin Mary by the arch-
Spirit angel Gabriel ; and on the Lord's day the Saviour
speaks was born in Bethlehem ; and on the Lord's day the
to the children of Jerusalem came forth with palm branches
Apostles to meet Him, saying, Hosanna in the highest, blessed
is He that cometh in the name of the Lord, and on
the Lord's day He rose from the dead ; and on the
Lord's day He will come to judge the living and the
dead ; and on the Lord's day He will come out of
10 heaven, to the glory and honour of the departure of
the holy glorious virgin who brought Him forth.
And on the same Lord's day the mother of the Lord
says to the apostles : Cast incense, because Christ is
coming with a host of angels ; and, behold, Christ is
15 at hand, sitting on a throne of cherubim. And
while we were all praying, there appeared innumerable
multitudes of angels, and the Lord mounted upon
cherubim in great power ; and, behold, a stream of
light coming to the holy virgin, because of the
20 presence of her only-begotten Son, and all the
powers of the heavens fell down and adored Him.
And the Lord, speaking to His mother, said : Mary.
And she answered and said : Here am I, Lord.
And the Lord said to her : Grieve not, but let thy
25 heart rejoice and be glad ; for thou hast found grace
to behold the glory given to me by my Father.
And the holy mother of God looked up, and saw in
Him a glory which it is impossible for the mouth of
man to speak of, or to apprehend. And the Lord

remained beside her, saying : Behold, from the *Christ*
 present time thy precious body will be transferred to *announces*
 paradise, and thy holy soul to the heavens to the *His*
 treasures of my Father in exceeding brightness, *Mother's*
 where there is peace and joy of the holy angels,— *Translation*
 and other things besides. And the mother of the *to Glory*
 Lord answered and said to Him : Lay Thy right
 hand upon me, O Lord, and bless me. And the
 Lord stretched forth His undefiled right hand, and
 blessed her. And she laid hold of His undefiled ¹⁰
 right hand, and kissed it, saying : I adore this right
 hand, which created the heaven and the earth ; and
 I call upon Thy much to be praised name Christ, O
 God, the King of the ages, the only-begotten of the
 Father, to receive Thine handmaid, Thou who didst ¹⁵
 deign to be brought forth by me, in a low estate, to
 save the race of men through Thine ineffable dis-
 pensation ; do Thou bestow Thine aid upon every
 man calling upon, or praying to, or naming the name
 of, Thine handmaid. And while she is saying this, ²⁰
 the apostles, having gone up to her feet and adored,
 say : O mother of the Lord, leave a blessing to the
 world, since thou art going away from it. For thou
 hast blessed it, and raised it up when it was ruined,
 by bringing forth the Light of the world. And the ²⁵
 mother of the Lord prayed, and in her prayer spoke
 thus : O God, who through Thy great goodness hast
 sent from the heavens Thine only-begotten Son to
 dwell in my humble body, who has deigned to be

Prayer of born of me, humble (as I am), have mercy upon the
Mary world, and every soul that calls upon Thy name.

And again she prayed, and said : O Lord, King of the heavens, Son of the living God, accept every man
5 who calls upon Thy name, that Thy birth may be glorified. And again she prayed, and said : O Lord Jesus Christ, who art all-powerful in heaven and on earth, in this appeal I implore Thy holy name ; in every time and place where there is made mention
10 of my name, make that place holy, and glorify those that glorify Thee through my name, accepting of such persons all their offering, and all their supplication, and all their prayer. And when she had thus prayed, the Lord said to His mother : Let thy heart
15 rejoice and be glad ; for every favour and every gift has been given to thee from my Father in heaven, and from me, and from the Holy Spirit : every soul that calls upon thy name shall not be ashamed, but shall find mercy, and comfort, and support, and con-
20 fidence, both in the world that now is, and in that which is to come, in the presence of my Father in the heavens. And the Lord turned and said to Peter : The time has come to begin the singing of the hymn. And Peter having begun the singing of
25 the hymn, all the powers of the heavens responded with the Alleluiah. And then the face of the mother of the Lord shone brighter than the light, and she rose up and blessed each of the apostles with her own hand, and all gave glory to God ; and the

Lord stretched forth His undefiled hands, and re- *Death and*
 ceived her holy and blameless soul. And with the *Burial of*
 departure of her blameless soul the place was filled *Mary*
 with perfume and ineffable light; and, behold, a
 voice out of the heaven was heard, saying: Blessed 5
 art thou among women. And Peter, and I John,
 and Paul, and Thomas, ran and wrapped up her
 precious feet for the consecration; and the twelve
 apostles put her precious and holy body upon a couch,
 and carried it. And, behold, while they were 10
 carrying her, a certain well-born Hebrew, Jephonias
 by name, running against the body, put his hands
 upon the couch; and, behold, an angel of the Lord
 by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his
 two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang 15
 about the couch, lifted up in the air. And at this
 miracle which had come to pass all the people of the
 Jews who beheld it cried out: Verily, He that was
 brought forth by thee is the true God, O mother of
 God, ever-virgin Mary. And Jephonias himself, 20
 when Peter ordered him, that the wonderful things
 of God might be showed forth, stood up behind the
 couch, and cried out: Holy Mary, who broughtest
 forth Christ who is God, have mercy upon me. And
 Peter turned and said to him: In the name of Him 25
 who was born of her, thy hands which have been
 taken away from thee, will be fixed on again.
 And immediately, at the word of Peter, the
 hands hanging by the couch of the Lady came,
 and were fixed on Jephonias. And he believed,

The Body and glorified Christ, God who had been born of translated her.

to Heaven And when this miracle had been done, the apostles carried the couch, and laid down her precious and
5 holy body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And, behold, a perfume of sweet savour came forth out of the holy sepulchre of our Lady the mother of God ; and for three days the voices of invisible angels were heard glorifying Christ our God, who had been born
10 of her. And when the third day was ended, the voices were no longer heard ; and from that time forth all knew that her spotless and precious body had been transferred to paradise.

And after it had been transferred, behold, we see
15 Elizabeth the mother of St. John the Baptist, and Anna the mother of the Lady, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and David, singing the Alleluiah, and all the choirs of the saints adoring the holy relics of the mother of the Lord, and the place
20 full of light, than which light nothing could be more brilliant, and an abundance of perfume in that place to which her precious and holy body had been transferred in paradise, and the melody of those praising Him who had been born of her—
25 sweet melody, of which there is no satiety, such as is given to virgins, and them only, to hear. We apostles, therefore, having beheld the sudden precious translation of her holy body, glorified God, who had shown us His wonders at the departure of the

mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prayers and *Glory of*
good offices may we all be deemed worthy to receive, *Mary*
under her shelter, and support, and protection, both
in the world that now is and in that which is to
come, glorifying in every time and place her only- 5
begotten Son, along with the Father and the Holy
Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.

Notes

THE PROTEVANGELIUM OF JAMES.

Title.—The title *Protevangelium* is first given in the Latin version of Postellus, 1552. The titles in the MSS. greatly vary. That adopted by Tischendorf is *The Birth of Mary the Holy Mother of God, and very glorious Mother of Jesus Christ*. James, the reputed author, is variously described as 'the Less,' 'the Lord's brother' (or 'brother of God'), 'the bishop of Jerusalem,' etc.

p. 1, l. 2. The Church of Rome appoints March 20 as the Feast of St. Joachim. His liberality is commended in the prayers.

p. 1, l. 5. The Syriac is clearer: 'And that portion which I owe by the law I offer it to the Lord, that it may be to me for expiation.'

p. 1, l. 6. In the *Nativity of Mary*, the 'great day' is called 'the Festival of the Dedication' (*cp.* John x. 22). More probably the Feast of Tabernacles is meant. *See below*.

p. 1, l. 9. Better, 'Ruben' (Reuben), as in some MSS., and in *Pseudo-Matthew*. *Cp.* chap. vi. In the *Nativity of Mary* the priest is called 'Issachar,' and this is followed in the *Mystery Plays* (*Ysakar*).

p. 1, l. 12. 'Registers of the twelve tribes.' The Greek word is *dodekaphulon*, and some interpret—'to the twelve tribes' (of the people). So also Syriac. But the context implies a search of records. *Cp.* l. 1, 'In the records (genealogies) of the twelve tribes of Israel.'

p. 1, l. 18. Another reading is, 'in his last days.'

p. 1, l. 21. *Pseudo-Matthew* says, 'He went to his flocks, taking with him his shepherds into the mountains into a far country, so that for five months his wife Anna could hear no tidings of him' (chap. ii.).

p. 1, l. 22. 'Forty days and forty nights.' *Cp.* Exod. xxiv. 18, xxxiv. 28; Deut. ix. 9; 1 Kings xix. 8; Matt. iv. 2.

p. 2, l. 4. The 26th of July is the Feast of St. Anna in the Church of Rome. 'Two mournings,' from the twofold cause, her widowhood and her childlessness.

p. 2, ll. 7-9. 'The great day.' Possibly, as Thilo conjectures, the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (John vii. 37). Anna had been mourning during the week.

p. 2, l. 11. Rather, which a lady, a former mistress, had given her as a reward of her work. The headband was too ornamental for a servant's use.

p. 2, l. 13. Some MSS. read, 'And thou hast a royal appearance.'

p. 2, l. 19. Meaning, What could I wish worse for thee than thy present condition.

p. 3, l. 21. In *Pseudo-Matthew* Anna has already conceived seed (chap. iii.).

p. 3, l. 24. *Cp.* Hannah's dedication of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11).

p. 4, l. 18. The plate on the priest's mitre, inscribed 'Holiness to the Lord.' A priestly *petalon* is ascribed in tradition to the Apostle John (Euseb., *H.E.* iii. 31, v. 24). There seems to have been a belief that the *petalon* gave some indication by its appearance when an impious person approached.

p. 5, l. 15. 'Led her astray.' If the text is not corrupt, the Greek word can only mean that the virgins seduced her (in a good sense) from the things that might interfere with her entire consecration. *Cp.* chap. vii. The Syriac is rendered, 'rejoiced with her' (Lewis).

p. 6, l. 15. Lest the Lord send some mark of His displeasure upon us.

p. 6, l. 21. Virgins are again employed to prevent the child's heart from being turned aside.

p. 6, l. 25. The residence of virgins in the Temple is entirely unhistorical. *Pseudo-Matthew* and the *Nativity* elaborate the idea, and represent the Temple as an abode of a community of virgins. They remained till they were of marriageable age (*Pseudo-Matthew* iv., viii. ; *Nativity* vii.)

p. 7, l. 4. The above-named Gospels add many marvels. Mary, on being set down, runs swiftly up the fifteen steps of the Temple (corresponding to the Psalms of Degrees) without anyone helping or leading her (*Pseudo-Matthew* iv. ; *Nativity* vi.)

p. 7, l. 10. Fed by an angel. *Cp.* the (first) Latin form of the *Transitus* ; 'I always guarded thee, and caused thee to be fed daily with my angelic food.' *Pseudo-Matthew* gives full accounts of Mary's occupations and miracles (chap. vi.).

p. 7, l. 13. Syriac has also twelve years. Some MSS. and the other Gospels have fourteen. According to the latter Mary is invited to marry, but protests her vow of perpetual virginity (*Pseudo-Matthew* vii., viii. ; *Nativity* vii.). The high priest says in *Pseudo-Matthew* : 'A new order of life has been found out by Mary alone, who promises that she will remain a virgin to God' (chap. viii.).

p. 7, l. 24. 'Each his rod' = staff.

p. 8, l. 7. The dove. The *Nativity of Mary* has a variety. In fulfilment of Isa. xi. 1, 2, the successful rod is to produce a flower, on which the Spirit shall settle in the form of a dove. Joseph's rod alone fulfils the condition (chaps. vii., viii.). A prominent feature in pictures of the Marriage of the Virgin by Raphael and his successors is that of the disappointed suitors breaking their useless rods. Mary in the Temple and the Betrothal to Joseph were favourite subjects in the Miracle Plays.

p. 9, l. 8. 'Blue' = hyacinth.

p. 9, l. 16. *Pseudo-Matthew* separates the two annunciations by a day, and makes the first (at the fountain) more

distinct (chap. ix.). The *Nativity* has only one (in house, chap. ix.).

p. 9, l. 24. This peculiar combination of Matthew and Luke in the address to Mary is found in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 33), from which, with other traits, a use of this Gospel is inferred.

p. 9, l. 25. *Lit.*, 'having received joy.' Justin Martyr has again a parallel, 'The Virgin Mary having received grace and joy' (*Dial. with Trypho*, 100).

p. 10, l. 9. 'Scarlet.' The readings vary ('wool,' etc.). Syriac has 'sieve.'

p. 10, l. 20. *Cp.* Mary's answer to Joseph below.

p. 11, l. 9. Two MSS. read 'hunted *her*.'

p. 11, l. 12. In the hour of his 'doxology,' *i.e.*, before the Fall. Some MSS. want or vary this clause.

p. 11, l. 24. The answer might truthfully mean that the fact was as great a mystery to Mary herself as to any. But the narrator has already suggested that she had 'forgotten' the mysteries announced by the archangel (chap. xii.)—a clumsy device.

p. 12, l. 2. *Lit.*, 'angelic.' In *Pseudo-Matthew* this is the suggestion of the virgins (chap. x.).

p. 13, l. 20. The water of jealousy (Numb. v.). It need not be said that there is no warrant in law or custom for the application of this ordeal to men. In the *Protevangelium* Joseph and Mary are sent to the hill-country and return unhurt; in *Pseudo-Matthew* they walk round the altar seven times, and are cleansed on the spot (chap. xii.). The Trial of Joseph and Mary was another favourite subject of the Mediæval Mysteries.

p. 14, l. 28. The birth of Jesus in a cave is a very early tradition, and seems to have some local origin. Justin mentions it (*Dial. with Trypho*, 78); and Origen says, 'There is shown at Bethlehem the cave where He was born, and the manger in the cave where He was wrapped in swaddling-clothes' (*Against Celsus*, I. 51). Jerome repeatedly mentions it: 'That cave in which the Son of God was born,' 'that venerable cave,' etc. (*Cp.* letters to Sabianus and Paulinus). It is to be noticed,

however, that in the apocryphal story (1) the cave is situated about three miles from Bethlehem (Mary being overtaken by childbirth in the way); and (2) the stable is not in the cave, but is sought some days after (chap. xxii. ; *Pseudo-Matthew* xiv. ; thus also Justin). There is no certain basis for the tradition.

p. 15, l. 3. The narrative here (chap. xviii.) changes to the first person (Joseph being now the speaker), and from comparative sobriety becomes wildly fantastic. It is plain that in this chapter we are dealing with another and older source—probably with part of the original Gospel. This leads to the suspicion, strengthened by what follows, that the Gospel took its origin in Esseno-Ebionitic or early Gnostic circles.

p. 15, l. 20. The story of the midwives and of the Nativity in the cave is again a favourite subject with the Mediæval Mystery-writers. It cannot be overlooked that in the story the birth of Jesus is robbed of part of its reality. Jesus is not born after the manner of other children. A great light fills the cave, and, as it decreases, the infant Jesus appears, while His mother remains a virgin. There is thus a docetic tinge in the narrative. This bears out the above suggestion of its origin.

p. 18, l. 25. *Pseudo-Matthew* (chap. xiv.) brings in the well-known trait of the ox and the ass adoring Christ in the stall, in supposed fulfilment of Isa. i. 3.

p. 19, l. 21. The episode of the death of Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, is not found in the other Apocryphal Gospels, but may have been part of the original of this. It is evidently evolved from Christ's allusion to the murder of Zacharias in Matt. xxiii. 35 (*Cp.* 2 Chron. xxiv. 21). The cleaving of the mountain to receive Elizabeth and her babe is of the type of the marvels that precede.

p. 20, l. 20. The James intended is no doubt the Lord's brother, who figures also in the *Clementines* and other pseudo-graphic compositions.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS.

p. 21, l. 1. The Gospel professes to be written by 'Thomas the Israelite.' In the Latin version Thomas is identified with 'the Apostle of the Lord' (chap. iv.), and there is a second endorsement by him at the close. The work is really, as shown in the Introduction, of Gnostic origin.

p. 21, l. 3. The special object of the Gospel is to recount the miracles of the infancy. The Latin version commences with three chapters relating to the sojourn in Egypt. These give one additional miracle, viz., the making a dried fish to live and swim (chap. i.). Chaps. xxvi. to xlii. of *Pseudo-Matthew* (see below) are simply another version of the Thomas-Gospel. They contain nearly all the miracles in the Greek and Syriac copies, with one or two additions.

p. 21, l. 6. It may be convenient at this point to give a list of the miracles which form the staple of the Gospel. They are these, in order of the text:—

1. Jesus collects water into pools, and clears them (chap. ii.).
2. Challenged for breaking the Sabbath, He makes clay sparrows fly (chap. ii.).
3. Withers up the son of Annas, who had spoiled His pools (chap. iii.).
4. Kills a boy who jostles Him (chap. iv.).
5. Strikes His accusers with blindness (chap. v.).
6. Confounds the schoolmaster Zacchæus with His knowledge of the Hebrew letters (chaps. vi., vii.).
7. Heals those who had fallen under His curse (chap. viii.).
8. Raises from the dead a boy fallen from a roof, whose death He had been accused of causing (chap. ix.).
9. Heals a youth's foot wounded by an axe (chap. x.).
10. Carries home water in His cloak—the pitcher being broken (chap. xi.).
11. Makes corn which He sows to multiply (chap. xii.).

12 Aids Joseph's carpentry by lengthening a piece of wood (chap. xiii.).

13. Kills a teacher who struck Him (chap. xiv.).

14. Preaches to another teacher, and restores the one He had killed (chap. xv.).

15. Cures James of a viper's bite, and kills the viper (chap. xvi.).

16. Gives life to a dead child (chap. xvii.).

17. Raises a dead man to life (chap. xviii.).

18. Instructs the Rabbis.

p. 21, l. 10. Between the miracles of the pools and the making of the sparrows *Pseudo-Matthew* interpolates a duplicate of miracle No. 3, viz., the withering up of the boy who destroyed the pools. The story of the son of Annas, however, occurs in its own place.

p. 22, l. 20. In the shorter Greek form the boy does not run against Jesus, but throws a stone at Him, and strikes His shoulder. The other versions give the story as in the text.

p. 23, l. 16. Thilo interprets, with one of the MSS., 'It is enough for thee that they (the persons blinded) seek and are not able to find.' *Pseudo-Matthew* makes Jesus, at Joseph's remonstrance, take the dead boy by the ear and revive him (chap. xxix.).

p. 23, l. 26. The story of Zacchæus and the Hebrew alphabet is a favourite one, and appears, but with variations, in all the versions. The similar story further down is only a variant of this. In *Pseudo-Matthew* Zacchæus does not himself teach the letters, but hands Jesus over to an old man, Master Levi, with whom the dialogue takes place (chap. xxxi.).

p. 24, l. 12. The passage on the mysteries of the letter Alpha is hopelessly corrupt, and is unintelligible. The form of letter that best answers to the description is the old Phœnician 'A,' which somewhat resembles the letter 'V' laid sidewise, with a cross-intersecting stroke.

p. 24, l. 20. One MS., after a brief allusion to Zacchæus going home ashamed, substitutes for chap. vii. a fragment of the

story of the changing of the colours of cloth in the dyer's shop, as given in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, chap. xxxvii.

p. 25, l. 1. 'Born before the creation of the world.' The shorter Greek Gospel makes Jesus say to Zacchæus, 'I know more than you, for I am before the ages. . . . Assuredly I know when the world was created' (chap. vi.). Similarly in *Pseudo-Matthew*, 'I have seen Abraham, whom you call your father, and have spoken with him; and he has seen me' (chap. xxx.).

p. 27, l. 14. 'Kor'=homer. Jerome states that the kor equals 30 *modii*. Jahn reckons it at 32 pecks, 1 pint.

p. 27, l. 23. Justin Martyr says that Jesus, working as a carpenter, 'made ploughs and yokes' (*Dial.* 88), which may be an allusion to this passage.

p. 28, l. 8. Evidently a duplicate of the story of Zacchæus. It is referred to by Irenæus (i. 20).

p. 30, l. 20. This story of the raising of the workman is wanting in *Pseudo-Matthew*, but instead of it is a story of the raising of a rich man from the dead at Capernaum (chap. xl.).

p. 30, l. 23. The spirit of mercy here ascribed to Jesus is certainly not predominant in the Gospel.

p. 30, l. 26. This narrative, of course, is based on Luke ii. 41-52.

THE GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-MATTHEW.

Title and early part of the Gospel.—This Gospel, described as 'the book of the Birth of the Blessed Mary and the Infancy of our Saviour,' bears to be 'written in Hebrew by the Blessed Evangelist Matthew, and translated into Latin by the Blessed Presbyter Jerome.' It is prefaced, as stated in the Introduction, by a forged letter to Jerome from two bishops, Chromatius and Heliodorus, and by a pretended reply from Jerome. A second and variant letter from Jerome to the same bishops is also extant. Chaps. i.-xvii. simply reproduce with embellishments the story of the Birth of Mary and the Nativity given in the

Protevangelium. Two MSS., indeed, have a prologue attributing the work to James.

p. 32, l. 1. With chap. xvii. commences the narrative of the flight into Egypt and the miracles wrought there. This extends to chap. xxv.—the close of the Gospel according to Thilo and other authorities. On the later chapters, *see* below, p. 126.

The miracles in this (the properly original) part of the Gospel are the following:—

1. The dragons and beasts of the desert adore Jesus (chaps. xviii., xix.).

2. Jesus makes a palm tree bend down its branches to yield fruit to Mary; then causes it to rise up again, and a spring of water to come from its root (chap. xx.).

3. An angel at Jesus's word carries a branch of the palm tree to paradise (chap. xxi.).

4. Jesus shortens the journey to Egypt from thirty days to one day (chap. xxii.).

5. The idols in the Temple at Egypt fall prostrate and are shattered at Christ's entrance (chaps. xxiii., xxiv.).

This completes the cycle of the miracles of the Infancy, with the exception of those additional in the (late) extravaganza, *The Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*.

p. 33, l. 10. 'I am and always have been perfect.' To realise the incongruity of the sayings and doings in these sections it is to be remembered that Jesus is a babe under two years of age.

p. 33, l. 13. 'Lions and panthers adored him likewise. What looks like a duplicate of this adoration of the beasts is found in chaps. xxxiv. and xxxv. of the later part of the Gospel. The scene there is a cave near Jericho, where a lioness is nursing her cubs. 'When the lions saw Jesus, they ran to meet him and adored him. And Jesus was sitting in the cavern, and the lion's cubs ran hither and thither round his feet, fawning upon him, and sporting. And the older lions, with their heads bowed down, stood at a distance, and adored him, and fawned upon him with their tails.' Jesus (then eight years old) said, 'Beasts know me, and are tame; men see me, and do not acknowledge

me.' This scene ends (chap. xxxvi.) with Jesus dividing the waters of the Jordan, and crossing with the lions. These are then dismissed.

p. 36, ll. 21, 22. Hermopolis was a city of Lower Egypt, the capital of the Nomos of Alexandria. Nothing is known of a city called Sotinen (or Sotrina). From the fact that Hermopolis is wanting in several of the MSS., and that the temple of the city is called the Capitol of Egypt, one is tempted to suspect that Hermopolis itself is meant. In the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sozomen, which reproduces some of these legends, the falling down of the idols is placed in Hermopolis (v. 21).

p. 37, l. 5. Athanasius, in his *Incarnation of the Word*, refers to this downfall of the idols; 'which of the righteous men or of the righteous kings went down into Egypt, so that at his entrance the idols of the Egyptians fell' (chap. xxxvi.; *cp.* chap. xxxvii.). This shows that these legends (if not the writing) are relatively early.

p. 38, l. 8. Chap. xxv. (the return to Judea) is included in Thilo's chap. xxiv. The remaining chapters in Tischendorf's edition (chaps. xxvi.-xlii.) do little more than reproduce with amplifications the stories of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

THE GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

Title.—The earlier name by which this work was popularly known was *The Acts of Pilate*. Both Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 35, 48; *cp.* 38) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 21) appeal to *Acts of Pontius Pilate* in confirmation of the facts of the Lord's trial and crucifixion. There seem conclusive reasons against the identification of these *Acts* with the present narrative; but there is probability in the view that the older *Acts* formed at least the basis of the later writing. The Notes will show that Lipsius goes too far when he affirms (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, art. 'Apoc. Gospels') that there are no traceable resemblances between the two.

p. 39, l. 3. The seventeenth year of Theodosius II. was A.D. 424. In this same year Valentinian III. was made Cæsar, and next year (A.D. 425) he became Augustus. According to Thilo, part of the latter year fell in the ninth Indiction. Thilo therefore prefers the reading of a Latin Codex, 'Under the government of Flavius Theodosius, in his *eighteenth* year, and Valentinian being Augustus.' The numbers as they stand do not agree. The sixth year of Valentinian would be A.D. 431.

p. 39, l. 12. The fifteenth year of Tiberius (A.D. 29) was the year of Christ's baptism (Luke iii. 1), but in the view of many of the Fathers (Tertullian, Clement, Lactantius, etc.) it was also the year of the Crucifixion, Christ's ministry being supposed to have lasted only one year. With this agrees (on the ordinary dating) the consulship of Rufus and Rubellio, except that the names are wrongly spelt (in Tac., *Annals* v. 1, 'Rubellius and Fusius'; in Tert., *Adv. Jud.* 8, 'Rubellius and Fufius'). On the other hand, this was the thirty-second (not the nineteenth) year of Herod; and the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad was A.D. 33. The above dating is one point of connection between Tertullian and the *Acts*.

p. 39, l. 25. There is great textual confusion in the names, here and throughout.

p. 41, l. 21. The so-called Hebrew words (wanting in some MSS.) can hardly have been written as they stand. They represent, 'Save now in the highest; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord' (*Cp.* Ps. cxviii. 25, 26; Matt. xxi. 8, 9). *Membrone* (for 'in the highest') is evidently a corruption of some form of *Marom* (*bimromim*; or, as the Salkinson-Ginsburg Heb. N.T. translates Luke xix. 38, *bimrome-al*). So *baruchamma* is plainly for *baruch habba* (*b'shem*).

p. 42, l. 5. The bending of the standards in adoration of Jesus, like the spreading of the doublet, and adoration of Jesus by the runner, is an attempt to reverse the conditions of humiliation of the trial. So Pilate is represented throughout as a convinced defender of Jesus.

p. 43, l. 11. The adoration of the standards is repeated.

p. 43, l. 15. One MS. reads 'Procla.' This is the traditional name of Pilate's wife. The second Greek version puts the incident of the dream in chap. vi., and names the wife of Pilate 'Procle.'

p. 45, l. 28. 'Take the sun to witness.' *Cp.* chap. ix., 'Pilate washed his hands in the face of the sun'; and chap. xii., Joseph 'washed his hands in the face of the sun.'

p. 46, l. 8. All the Gospels are used in this narrative, but that of John most largely.

p. 49, l. 23. The testimony of Nicodemus is followed by that of the impotent man of John v., of Bartimæus, of the woman who had the issue of blood, etc. Justin cites the *Acts of Pilate* in proof that, as predicted, Christ should heal all diseases (*Apol.* i. 48).

p. 50, l. 19. Some MSS. add Bernice, or Veronica, as the name of the woman with the issue. So in second Greek version (chap. vii.). The Veronica legend had a great development in the Church (*see* documents in *Ante-Nicene Library* volume).

p. 51, l. 27. Pilate's Biblical knowledge has greatly increased since he asked the meaning of the Hosanna.

p. 53, l. 7. The mockery of Jesus, the parting of His garments, and the taunting of Him on the Cross, are other features for which Justin appeals to the *Acts of Pilate* (*Apol.* i. 36, 38). *Cp.* Tertullian (*Apol.* 25).

p. 53, l. 20. Some MSS. add, 'And the soldier Longinus, taking a spear, pierced his side, and there came forth blood and water.' Longinus is named below (chap. xvi.; some texts omit the name). In second Greek form he is mentioned as the centurion in charge (chap. xi.).

p. 54, l. 1. In the second part of this Gospel, describing Christ's descent into Hades, the penitent malefactor (here called Dysmas) is made to remind Jesus of this promise (chap. x.).

p. 54, l. 13. The Hebrew is again corrupt. *Ruel*, e.g., stands for *Ruchi* (*cp.* Ps. xxxi. 5).

p. 54, l. 27. 'Eclipse of the sun.' Tertullian says of this

darkness that those who did not know the predictions 'no doubt thought it an eclipse.' In the context he refers to Pilate's report (*Apol.* 25).

p. 56, l. 16. Joseph of Arimathea is imprisoned in a room, but is miraculously delivered. He explains afterwards (chap. xv.) how Jesus appeared to him on the morning of the resurrection, and freed him.

p. 57, l. 25. Through a misunderstanding of Matt. xxviii. 4, 5, the narrator makes the guard overhear the message to the women at the sepulchre. Ver. 11 shows that the soldiers had departed.

p. 59, l. 1. 'Mountain called Mamilch.' *Cp.* chaps. xv., xvi. Other readings are Malek, Mambre, Momphe, etc. The Latin version has Mambre. On the conjectures about this mountain, see Thilo's long note. Probably it is the mountain which the Jews called ha-Melek (the royal mountain). There is a double confusion: (1) This mountain, which was in Judea, is placed in Galilee; and (2) it is made the mountain of Ascension. The confusion no doubt arises from Matt. xxviii. 16-20. The second Greek version corrects to the Mount of Olives (chaps. xiv., xvi.).

p. 61, l. 21. At Joseph's suggestion, a search is made for Jesus throughout Israel, as formerly for Elijah (2 Kings ii. 12-18).

p. 68, l. 21. The three Rabbis who saw Jesus teaching and ascending are examined separately, with the effect, apparently, of the conversion of Annas and Caiaphas, the priests and Levites, and the teachers and rulers generally (*cp.* chaps. xv. and xvi.). In this representation there is strange disregard of the Book of Acts. Tertullian appeals to the account of Pilate in corroboration of the Resurrection and Ascension (*Apol.* 25).

p. 70, l. 18. 'Jobel' = the year of Jubilee. The Gospel in some MSS. ends a few lines before with the words 'We saw him taken up into heaven.' The latter part of the chapter (wanting also in second Greek and Latin) is confused and seemingly irrelevant.

The second part of the Gospel, in some MSS. a continuation of the first, narrates Christ's descent into Hades, and

deliverance of the souls of the righteous there. It contains the legend of the 'Oil of Mercy,' on the history of which see Cowper's Introduction to his *Apocryphal Gospels*.

THE GOSPEL OF PETER.

Title.—Generally, *The Gospel according to Peter* (see Introduction).

p. 72, l. 1. The fragment begins just after Pilate has washed his hands, as in Matt. xxvii. 24. No others would wash. The idea throughout is to shift responsibility from Pilate to the Jews.

p. 72, l. 4. Herod is made to take the leading part; so bears the chief blame. The suggestion is from Luke xxiii. 7-12.

p. 72, l. 9. Joseph's request for the body in the four Gospels follows the Crucifixion. Here it precedes, and is sent by Pilate to Herod.

p. 72, l. 18. There is a striking parallel in Justin Martyr, 'As the prophet said, they dragged Him, and set Him on the judgment seat, and said, Judge for us' (*Apol.* i. 35). It may be that John xix. 13 was read—'set him on the judgment seat.'

p. 72, l. 20-p. 73, l. 7. The features of the mockery, with the crucifixion between two malefactors, agree in essentials with the Gospels.

p. 73, l. 8. *Lit.*, 'As in no wise having pain.' This trait reveals the docetic origin of the Gospel.

p. 73, l. 9. The title on the Cross in the Gospels is 'King of the Jews.'

p. 73, l. 11. The casting lots upon the garments is in all the Gospels.

p. 73, l. 12. In Luke (xxiii. 39-43) the penitent malefactor rebukes the other, who railed on Jesus. Here the rebuke is addressed to the Jews.

p. 73, l. 17. In John (xix. 31, 32) the legs of both malefactors are broken; here breaking is refused to one to prolong torment.

p. 73, l. 24. 'Gall with vinegar.' Matthew mentions 'wine mingled with gall' (xxvii. 34, R.V.); but this was before crucifixion. 'Vinegar' was given on the Cross (Matt., Mark, John).

p. 73, l. 29. *Lit.* 'they fell down.' Stumbling? From fear? For sleep? All the Synoptics emphasise the darkness.

p. 74, l. 1. 'My Power,' etc. The cry is evidently based on the Gnostic notion that at the Crucifixion the earthly Jesus was deserted by the heavenly Christ (an æon), who had descended on Him at the Baptism. Possibly the presence of the 'Power' conditioned the insensibility to pain above.

p. 74, l. 4. The earthquake and rending of the veil as in the Synoptics.

p. 74, l. 15. John mentions the garden (xix. 44).

p. 74, l. 18. *Cp.* Luke xxiii. 48. Words like these are found in the old Syriac version of this passage in Luke, 'Woe to us from our sins'; also, apparently, in the Syriac Tatian, 'Woe was it unto us . . . the judgments of the desolation of Jerusalem have come' (Robinson).

p. 75, l. 4. The story of the watch set at the tomb in Matt. xxvii. 62-66 is dressed up with apocryphal traits (Petronius as name of centurion, seven seals, etc.).

p. 75, l. 19-p. 76, l. 4. The whole account of the Resurrection has a highly Gnostic colouring. The soldiers are the witnesses.

p. 76, ll. 5, 6. 'Head reached far above the heavens.' The Elkesaites (end of second century) had a revelation book which they professed to receive from an angel ninety-six miles in height, which angel was the Son of God (Hipp., *Ref. of Her.* iv. 8). For other interesting parallels, see Robinson's *Gospel according to Peter* (p. 26).

p. 76, ll. 7, 8. An allusion to the preaching in Hades (*cp.* above on *Gospel of Nicodemus*).

p. 76, l. 13. *Lit.*, 'the heavens again appear opened, and a certain man descending and entering into the sepulchre.' This section is purely apocryphal. The words put into the mouths of the centurion and his guard are those of the centurion at the Cross (Matt., Mark, Luke).

p. 76, l. 29. A paraphrase of the narrative of the Gospels. In this version Jesus does not appear to the women.

p. 77, ll. 27, 28. *Cp.* Mark xvi. 8 (end of original Gospel).

p. 78, l. 2. There were now only *eleven* disciples.

p. 78, l. 5. The intention may be to relate some incident like that in John xxi.

ACTS OF PAUL AND THECLA.

Subject.—An outline of the story is given in the Introduction.

p. 78, l. 9. The flight from Antioch, and the fact that this was apparently Paul's first visit to Iconium suggests Acts xiii. 50, 51. On the other hand, there was already a 'church' in the house of Onesiphorus, and the events of Paul's stay are irreconcilable with the narrative in Acts. The author may have in mind (or confuses with) the later visit implied in Acts xvi. 1-6, when Paul first knew Timothy; but is probably thinking more of 2 Tim. iii. 11 than of the history in the Acts. He romances throughout.

p. 78, ll. 10, 11. On his first missionary journey Paul was accompanied by Barnabas. Demas and Hermogenes are names borrowed from 2 Tim. (i. 15, iv. 10). But their forsaking of Paul was in the end of his life.

p. 78, l. 20. Onesiphorus and his 'house' are also borrowed from 2 Tim. He is there connected with Ephesus (i. 16-18, iv. 18).

p. 79, ll. 7-11. The description of Paul's personal appearance is probably traditional. It is followed by Renan, *Les Apôtres*, p. 170.

p. 79, l. 22. The style of worship is still of Apostolic simplicity.

p. 80, l. 17. 'Thecla.' Probably a real traditional name. It became a favourite name in the Church. The sister of Gregory of Nyssa, Macrina, on account of a dream, took the name Thecla.

p. 81, l. 12. Thecla, tied to her window 'like a spider,' in listening to Paul discoursing on virginity, rejects all endearments of her betrothed.

p. 82, l. 28. Gutschmidt makes it probable that Castellos was a real person.

p. 82, l. 29-p. 83, l. 1. The being a Christian was not of itself a capital crime in the time of Paul. But it was on the way to become so (*cp.* 1 Peter iv. 14, 16).

p. 83, ll. 3-7. Again from 2 Tim. (ii. 18). The resurrection is said to consist (1) in the procreation of children, (2) in the knowledge of the true God.

p. 83, l. 19. 'Proconsul.' This is a mistake. Iconium, though territorially in Lycaonia, was, in Paul's time, not under a proconsul, but was head of an independent tetrarchy (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 25). The contrast with Luke's minute accuracy in such matters is very striking.

p. 84, l. 16. Chrysostom thus applies the incident: 'Thecla, for the sake of seeing Paul, gave her jewels; but thou, for the sake of seeing Christ, wilt not give an obolus' (*Hom.* 25, *on Acts*).

p. 86, ll. 1, 2. A similar trait to the Lord appearing in the likeness of Paul is found in the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas* (chap. i.).

p. 86, l. 10. Methodius, in his *Banquet of the Ten Virgins* (A.D. 300), puts a long oration into the mouth of Thecla, in which she alludes to her trials by the wild beasts and by fire (viii. 2).

p. 86, l. 21. 'Daphne.' The only Daphne known is the site of the grove about five miles south of Antioch in Syria.

p. 87, l. 24. 'Seal'; a name for baptism. 'The seal of the Lord' (Clem. Alex.) In N.T. the seal is the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30).

p. 87, l. 29. 'Antioch.' It is difficult to make out which Antioch is meant. The story would naturally suggest, indeed requires, Antioch in Pisidia (so Ramsay). On the other hand, the mention of the 'Syriarch' Alexander, and the contiguity of

Daphne suggest Antioch in Syria. A church in Antioch in Syria, in fact, was held to mark the spot of Thecla's struggle with Alexander (Basil). If this is the meaning, time and distance are wholly disregarded. Antioch in Pisidia, however, was also a centre of civil and military administration (Ramsay).

p. 88, l. 3. Paul's repudiation of Thecla does not set him in a chivalrous light.

p. 88, l. 13. The crown was 'the official crown with its portrait of the reigning emperor' (Ramsay). Hence the crime of Thecla was treason and sacrilege.

p. 88, l. 23. 'Tryphæna.' Afterwards described as Queen, and relation of the Emperor. It is now well established by recent investigation (Gutschmidt, Mommsen, Waddington, Ramsay, etc.), and by the discovery of her coins, that Tryphæna was an historical personage. The best account of her history, in light of recent research, is that of Ramsay in *Expositor*, Vol. VI. (6th series), pp. 282 ff. (1902). She was daughter of Polemon I., King of Pontus, and second cousin to the Emperor Caligula, while her mother was cousin of the Emperor Claudius. Her husband, the King of Thrace, died early. Her son was Polemon II. of Pontus, with whom for some time she reigned in conjunction, then apparently fell into disfavour and retired to live elsewhere. She appears here as resident, or at least present, in Antioch, a widow, opulent but lonely, having just lost her daughter Falconilla. Thecla is committed to her keeping for the preservation of her chastity.

p. 89, ll. 16-18. Thecla's prayer avails to translate Falconilla to a state of bliss. The same belief in the efficacy of prayers for the dead appears in the *Acts of Perpetua* (Severian persecution, A.D. 202).

p. 91, l. 8. This is the act of self-baptism which stumbled Tertullian (*on Bapt.* 17). The simple formula 'in the name of Jesus Christ' is still used. Basil of Seleucia says, 'If any choose to call this a mystic baptism, in the case of the martyr in her moment of peril, so let him call it, and let not the ancient

author be blamed for this novel use of the word' (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, art. 'Thecla').

p. 92, l. 4. On Queen Tryphæna fainting, the spectacle is stopped for fear of the wrath of her kinsman, the emperor.

p. 93, l. 14. Through Thecla's instruction Tryphæna and her maidens believe.

p. 95, l. 18. Many miracles are traditionally reported of this later stay in Seleucia. A church was built there in Thecla's honour.

THE FALLING ASLEEP OF MARY

On the story, *see* Introduction.

p. 99, l. 1. 'Mother of God'; *theotokos*. This word became the watchword in the Nestorian controversy (A.D. 428 ff.). The most exalted epithets are bestowed on Mary throughout this and the related pieces.

p. 99, l. 6. The hostility of the Jews to Mary is much elaborated in the Syriac versions of the *Transitus Mariæ*. The Jews watch the tomb and prepare to stone her.

p. 99, l. 12. In Dr. Wright's Syriac fragment, on the contrary, the watchers see the angels speaking to Mary, and are hindered thereby from harming her.

p. 99, l. 16. In the Syriac the Jews obtain authority from the governor to make Mary desist from her visits to the tomb. This occasions her removal to Bethlehem.

p. 100, l. 8. The Syriac names the three virgins—Calletha, Neshra, and Tabetha. The second was the daughter of Gamaliel. Mystical meanings are given to the names.

p. 100, l. 10. 'Bring me a censer.' So below and continually: 'Pray, and cast incense,' 'Bring a censer, and cast incense, and pray,' etc. There is no trace of the use of incense in Christian worship during the first four centuries.

p. 101, l. 26. These two ideas are now connected with Mary;

(1) that she was sinless, and (2) that her body could not see corruption.

p. 102, l. 14. The list of the Apostles is not complete, and varies in the different versions. Four Apostles, with Luke, are raised from their tombs, and afterwards return to them.

p. 102, l. 15. 'Tiberia'—*see* below; 'And I, living in a city at no great distance from Rome, called the country of Tiberia.'

p. 102, l. 15. 'Hither India'—*i.e.*, the eastern provinces of Persia (Ariana, Arachosia, etc.). So in the *Acts of Thomas*. The early tradition placed Thomas's sphere of labour in Parthia.

p. 103, l. 26. John was going in to perform service at the holy altar. This reading back of advanced Catholic ritual into the years succeeding the Crucifixion is maintained throughout. In the Syriac, Peter is offering a sacrifice at Rome; in the Latin, Thomas is saying mass in India, etc.

p. 104, l. 28. 'Canon of the third day.' The Syriac has 'the service of the third hour.' 'A canon is a part of the Church service consisting of nine odes. The canon of the third day is the canon for Tuesday' (note in *Ante-Nicene Library*, xvi. 508).

p. 106, l. 1. The wonders at the Virgin's deathbed are greatly multiplied and heightened in the Syriac. Women come from Rome, from Alexandria, from Egypt, from Athens; 'daughters of kings, and daughters of the magnates of the nations,' etc. Long accounts are given of the miracles. Those that were cured are reckoned at 2800 souls, men, and women, and children.

p. 109, l. 21. Here the Syriac introduces a long controversy between the believers and unbelievers in Jesus, held before the governor in Jerusalem. It ends with six of the unbelievers being scourged. It is brought out in the discussion that the touching of the cross of Jesus has cured 5500 souls, more or less.

p. 109, l. 25. The Syriac versions vary, in that a command is given to convey the Virgin to a cave in a valley beyond the Mount of Olives. It is on this journey (before her death) that the story of the judgment on Jephunneh, told here later, comes in. The death of the Virgin takes place in the cave.

p. 111, l. 3. Paradise is located in the Syriac in the site of the old Eden, but is viewed as an abode of the blessed, and in communication with heaven.

p. 114, l. 23. There are the widest differences in the various versions of this translation of Mary's body. A Latin version describes Mary as raised to life from her tomb. The Syriac pictures her as resuscitated in Paradise, and taken up by Christ to see the glories of the heavenly world.

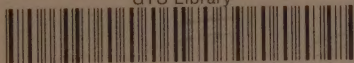


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